

PARADING CULTURE
PARADES AND VISUAL DISPLAYS
IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the creation and maintenance of the collective memory in contemporary Northern Ireland. It considers which past events are remembered as socially significant, how they are recalled and how this history is used to underpin the sense of difference between the Protestant and Catholic communities. It explores the creation of a social memory from two theoretical perspectives. First by using Paul Connerton's argument to highlight the importance of public ritual occasions at which the significant past is collectively re-enacted. In this case it is the form of the activity that is the focus of interest. Second, I consider the importance of visual images in memory production. These give insight into the meaning that is imposed on the past by those acting in the present.

These ideas are then related to Northern Ireland by describing and analysing the major commemorative parades that are held across the province through the "Marching Season" which lasts from Easter to September and the visual displays, that are associated with them. The first section draws out some of the history of the tradition of parading from the 17th century to the present and shows how at times of crisis extra emphasis has been given to visual displays which have steadily expanded in scale and complexity over this period. The ethnographic data then considers how the practice of parading, of displaying painted silk banners and painting murals on the gable walls of houses is used today by both the Nationalist and Unionist communities. I argue that this practice has been intimately linked to the process of creating the sectarian divisions in the north and today it is important in sustaining divisions by emphasising the differences between the two communities and while ignoring much of the shared past.

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CHAPTER ONE

IRISH MEMORY AND RITUAL

Some societies need no re-enactment to reactivate history; the process seems to be ingrained, habitual. Unassuaged injuries and injustices often lead men to conflate remote with recent times and even with the present. Many Irish continue to experience the Danish invasions, the devastations of Laud, the Famine of 1847, as almost contemporaneous events. Irish memory has been likened to historical paintings in which Virgil and Dante converse side by side. But the Irish do not 'live in the past; rather, Ireland's history "lives in the present". All previous traitors and all previous heroes remain alive in it', as in the 'bottomless memory' of an O'Faolin character in which 'one might see, though entangled beyond all hope of unravelling', the entire saga of Ireland's decay" (Lowenthal 1986 p 250).

This quotation embodies a widely held view of the Irish use of "History", numerous contemporary historians make use of concepts of "folk memory" or even "race memory" to explain recurring social events, beliefs and practices that are transmitted apparently almost without trace (MacDonagh 1983, Rose 1971, Smyth 1992, Stewart 1977). But is it true that the Irish have a bottomless memory in which nothing and no-one is forgotten and are these memories really sustained habitually with no re-enactment? How is it possible to talk of a singular "Irish memory" when one is considering a country that has two distinct ethnic communities, has been divided into two states for over 70 years and has sustained a military conflict in one part the island for the past generation in which one of the most prominent features has been the conflicting interpretations of Irish history. Although it is acknowledged that history and heritage are key concerns in English cultural representations and mediations of everyday life (Wright

1985), no-one would suggest that "for many English people" events such as the Civil War or the Battle of Hastings are experienced as "almost contemporaneous events". Either Lowenthal's position is wrong or the "Irish memory" is so distinctive as to require more elaborate consideration.

While one may wish to criticise Lowenthal's sweeping generalisation of the use and understanding that many Irish people make of their past, it is a perspective which can be accommodated within many popular interpretations of the Irish problem, which liken contemporary events to the religious wars that occupied much of the energy of early modern Europe. A popular derivation is to describe the Troubles as a tribal conflict, an approach which was elaborated at length in the Guardian (3-4-1993), by South African journalist Rian Malan. He views the Ulster violence as a relatively petty squabble with two warring factions vying for power while sharing the same narrow ground - tribes who cannot live together but cannot live apart. This feud (he argues) has continued intermittently since the 17th century despite the best will of the British to stop the killing and civilise the natives (ignoring the British colonial input), but "ineradicable tribalism and inescapable biological destiny" means that the Troubles are doomed to continue. Whether the Troubles are regarded as a religious war or as a tribal conflict, both approaches consign the Irish (or perhaps only those Irish who live in the northern part of the island) to a primitive or backward state which, therefore perhaps makes their irrational bottomless memory more understandable.

No matter how critical or dismissive one might be of religious war or tribal conflict approaches (see Jenkins et al 1986 for discussion on the role of religion in the Troubles), it is difficult to ignore the prominent role that certain historical events and characters appear to have in political and social life in the six counties of

Northern Ireland. Why are certain battles and events of the 17th century still commemorated and remembered as important events 300 years later? Why do King William III and St Patrick feature as part of a popular political iconography? What do these historical or mythological figures mean to people living in the north of Ireland? How have the complex identities subsumed within the populist rhetoric of "Protestant" and "Catholic" been created, developed and maintained since the arrival of colonists from England and Scotland in the 17th century? And why are they apparently more prominent anchors for collective identities than the more widely utilised geographical frameworks?

This study is concerned with some of the ways and means that past events are remembered in contemporary Northern Ireland. It focuses in particular on the numerous commemorative parades that are held during the marching season (from Easter until September) and attempts to discover what is actually commemorated and remembered at these times, and why so many parades need to be held year after year. It is useful here to distinguish between acts of commemoration and the process of remembrance because the historical and religious anniversaries are also used to remember a wide range of other events and people more or less closely associated with the main commemoration. As part of the festivities, these days are used to make extensive public displays of the key symbols and icons of the respective communities.

As well as considering how the parades are used to commemorate the past, I also want to consider the relationship between these acts of remembrance and celebration and the violence of the Troubles. While republican and (to a lesser extent) loyalist paramilitary violence has been subjected to extensive analysis, much less interest has been given to understanding how political violence (as a general practice rather than any specific

acts) has attained a substantial degree of legitimacy within the population at large. From the beginning of the Troubles in the late 1960s until the ceasefires of August and October 1995, the paramilitary groupings managed to cause considerable death, destruction and injury while retaining substantial support within otherwise largely law-abiding and church-going communities. They did this while appealing to abstract ideals of nationality and also to the precedent of history. To the question "How is the past remembered in Northern Ireland?" one must add "How is political violence legitimised through the acts of commemoration?"

Parading with banners was once widespread throughout the British Isles. In the nineteenth century Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, Temperance groups, Sunday Schools and numerous other organisations and Brotherhoods regularly paraded with their decorated banners. The Northern Irish tradition is a direct and continuous descendant of this practice, which in Ireland can be traced back to an origin in the 18th century. I will trace out the history of certain commemorations, to show how parades and displays have been used in the past and how they have changed, and to show why these popular commemorations and festivities have not only survived but are thriving in Ireland when most similar events in other Western European and North American countries have failed to survive the transition to urbanism and industrialisation (Burke 1978, Cressy 1989, Davis 1986, Malcolmson 1973, Storch 1982).

This study is concerned not only with the act of commemoration but also with recording and analysing the images and symbols that are displayed at the same time. The two principal forms of imagery in which I am interested are painted silk banners carried on the parades and mural paintings adorning the gable walls of the working class areas of Belfast and Derry. The banner displays include

many images and symbols similar to those of earlier centuries alongside those of recent origin, and while murals have been painted in Belfast from the early part of this century, the body of work considered here is largely a product of the Troubles of the past twenty odd years, in form, scale and content. Nevertheless many of the images and themes of the murals are similar to earlier paintings and also have many links with the images displayed on parades. I aim to show how and why this body of images has been established, what they mean and how that meaning is changed and used within broader ideological debates.

To do so one must not only consider the connections and differences both between the two media within each community, but also explore the connections and differences between the Protestant /Unionist/Loyalist images and the Catholic/Nationalist /Republican images (1). This will include the media of presentation, the space, the form and temporality of display. I will consider how these factors relate to the images to be seen: where murals are painted and where they are not, where parades go and where not. Collectively the parades, banners and murals present a comprehensive display of events and icons that underpin the distinctive and opposing identities of the two dominant groups. The anniversaries and the images are an opportunity to give public expression to the collective memory of the Ulster Protestant and Irish Catholic communities.

SOCIAL MEMORY

The question of how "history lives in the present", how social groups use their memories of past events to guide, rationalise and justify present day beliefs and activities, of what sort of collective, subjective history is remembered and how it is maintained, is one that has attracted interest from a wide range of authors and disciplines in recent years. These range from studies of

classical and medieval mnemonic techniques (Carruthers 1990, Kuchler and Melion 1991, Yates 1966), ethnographic studies in non-literate or partially literate societies (Ashforth 1991, Bastide 1978, Harwood 1976, Kuchler 1987, 1989, Morphy and Morphy 1984, Rappaport 1990, Rosaldo 1980) and studies related to areas of modern Europe, the Middle East and the USA from the late 18th to the 20th centuries (Bushaway 1992, Connerton 1989, Cressy 1992, Fentress and Wickham 1992, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Middleton and Edwards 1990, Papadakis 1993, Swedenburg 1991, Thelen 1990).

A social memory is often similar to, but at the same time remains distinct from, a more formal sense of history. History follows a form of logic, of structure, of pattern, of narrative and of progress that is absent from the more chaotic and disjointed content of memory. Halbwachs (1980) contrasts history, that which is concerned with documenting change, with the collective memory which is rooted in a sense of permanence and continuity. The writing of history is concerned with imposing some sense of narrative and direction on the past, while a collective memory is more concerned with emphasising the sense of repetition, of situating the event or experience within a pre-existing category. In a similar fashion Pierre Nora regards memory as the traditional medium for understanding the past but which has been supplanted by reconstructed history in our "hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change" (1989 p8). But, as Redfield (1994) argues, this opposition and separation between history and memory is never so complete and fixed. In modern societies recorded history will always be balanced, and sometimes opposed by a multiplicity of social or collective memories. And, just as the past recalled by memory may question that authorised by historians, so the memories of one group may contrast with those of another. This sense in which collective memories can contrast with one another and with written

history is one of the themes explored in this study.

I am not concerned with an understanding of how memory works per se but of how a collective or social memory, or rather a plurality of social memories are generated and maintained. In defining social memory it is useful to acknowledge the difference which Halbwachs (1992) makes between autobiographical memories and historical memory: between events which are remembered from personal experience and are specific to the individual and memories of past events which:

can only be stimulated in indirect ways through reading or listening or in commemoration and festive occasions when people gather together to remember in common the deeds and accomplishments of long-departed members of the group (Coser 1992 p 24).

This idea of a memory of unexperienced events requires recognition that memory should not simply be understood as a repository for all sensory data, data which is merely stored away only to be retrieved unchanged and as new when required. Instead remembering must be regarded as an active process in which memories have to be worked on and used in order to be maintained. Memories, as a medium for understanding the past, are a part of the wider cultural practices which are continually being adapted and rephrased to meet the needs of the present. Social memories 'are not "recollections of times past" but part of the present understandings of the past', people use 'images of the past (as) a justification for the present relationship' and not 'images from the past' (Morphy and Morphy 1984 p 462). It is the desires and aspirations of the present which shape our views of the past, while at the same time those present aspirations are partly formed by our understanding of our past. We use the past by remembering selectively those events which help to explain or justify what is happening in the present, a present which can therefore be portrayed as the inevitable and only outcome of those same events.

The changing needs and circumstances of the present mean that memories are constantly monitored and re-evaluated and our understanding of the past is adapted to those changing circumstances. Some memories will be abandoned and forgotten and some long ignored events may be remembered, as history is subject to re-appraisal. Usually this is a subtle process "of persistence and change, of continuity and newness" (Coser 1992 p 26), but in periods of dramatic social change and upheaval, attempts may be made to make wholesale changes to the collective remembrance of the past. Such attempts have been made in Nazi Germany (Connerton 1989, Mosse 1975), during the Stalinist period of the Soviet Union (Lane 1981) and after the French Revolution (Ozouf 1988) to name but a few of the more obvious cases. The fact that the social memories created at these times have largely been forgotten, shows the problems of trying to impose on a group of people new memories of the past which conflict with their emergent understanding; of trying to rewrite history to conform to a larger "objective" truth. The current restructuring of national and political identities across much of Eastern Europe has in turn produced another refocusing of collective memory. Much of the recent past is being swept away in an attempt to re-imagine a better and more appropriate past from which to re-launch state aspirations. Just as Stalingrad was swept away by the previous generation, so now one can imagine a return to the imperial glories of St Petersburg as Lenin's position as Soviet icon is gradually whittled away and his preserved body removed from view. The importance that a sense of the past has in people's daily lives, in providing continuity in the face of change, makes it almost impossible to wipe that slate clean and begin again. But while it is impossible to make people forget their past, it is perhaps possible to shift focus from one past to another.

Social memory is an understanding of past events that are remembered by individuals, but always within a framework that is structured by the larger group. The type of groups that can share memories range in scale from a single family, through those based on a particular town or village, to regional groupings, right up to a national or state based identity, which always relies on a particular form of social memory (Anderson 1983). Besides kinship and geographical groupings, individuals may also share memories based on ethnic, class or political affiliation or structured by gender. Each individual is therefore enmeshed within many different pasts at any one time. Although not all will be equally important, each set of memories offers the possibility of a different future if a different sense of the past is given weight.

For this study the most important form of group affiliation is that of ethnicity. While the labels Protestant and Catholic have been widely interpreted through a religious idiom, the two communities function as discrete ethnic groups in so far as they remain largely endogamous, culturally distinct and symbolically bounded, and most importantly, see themselves as distinct (Eriksen 1993). The two communities emphasise this difference by claiming allegiance to differing political nations, the British and the Irish, while living in a territory that remains contested by both states. While an ethnic or national identity is often seen as an essential and unchangeable feature of one's being, it is in practice a much more fluid and unpredictable formation (Anderson 1983). In Ireland the formation of the distinct Ulster-British Protestant and Irish Catholic ethnicities are largely a product of the nineteenth century, but they are none the less real for all that. While the Irish Catholic identity has formed within the generalised rhetoric of nationalism, the Protestant identity sits at an uneasy intersection of Irish and British culture and history that has come to be called

Ulster.

As a social construction, ethnic identity must be given form and substance by being located both in time and in space. The group must have a memory of itself which recounts a sense of origin and distinctiveness. A social memory becomes a central facet of the ideological armoury of the group, helping to legitimise and rationalise difference by rooting it in the long distant past and thus placing weight on the primordial or essential nature of the antagonisms or otherness (Eagleton 1991, Giddens 1979). Different media and forms of remembering will be more or less appropriate depending on the number and range of people involved in creating a shared memory. It is difficult to produce and sustain a consensual memory of the past for a large and diverse group of people, even if they accept the common rubric of ethnicity, except when dealing with very general understanding or with the long distant past. Even within the ethnic group, sub-groups may hold radically differing memories of what is a common past. As Papadakis (1993) discusses with reference to the recent political history of Cyprus, these differences may be a result of memories that are based on personal involvement rather than simply learnt history, but they may also be complicated by political, age and gender differences.

We must therefore consider what are the best and most appropriate means to maintain and transmit memories both by individuals and by the group, to come to an understanding of both the form and the expression in which past events are communicated. At the level of the ethnic or national group, the historic event or iconic figure is likely to be some way removed from individual experience. To be established as a social memory it needs to be conceptualised or encoded into an "internal context", that is, isolated or freed from its specific history or external context and "transformed into images (or) arranged into

stories". This encoding involves a process of simplification, of removing or forgetting extraneous details which blur the certitudes and so reduce the event or figure to little more than a schematic outline, the event or hero becomes mythified and decontextualised from any concrete past. The schematic structure can then be built upon and elaborated to fit different situations. Reducing the past to a formalised and generalised ideal allows for a multiple layering of memory whereby events and people over widely differing periods of time can be equated with one another. It also allows the specific individuals or actions that are remembered, to be replaced by or conflated with others. Memory becomes less a means of conserving a distinct lineal history than a generator of meaning. The smooth temporal flow of history becomes a jumble of distinct and separate events lacking any obvious ordered narrative form and in which similar events seem to recur. Removed from their generating context, social memories function as signifiers without signifieds, as themes or metaphors in which the meaning is generated and added in the process of remembering. As the external context of the remembering changes so the meaning may change and social memory becomes an "active search for meaning" in which the events of the past have a didactic as well as an explanatory function. Duplication or overlap merely serves to reinforce this feature (Fentress and Wickham 1992 pp 68-73, Harwood 1976 p 795).

RITUAL AND MEMORY.

Lewis Coser has suggested that social memories, our understandings of the past, are stimulated indirectly, through 'reading or listening or in commemoration and festive occasions' (1992 p 24). Coser's formulation groups together widely differing processes of confronting the past: the quiet reflective intimacy of reading or being told a story (perhaps these days of watching a documentary

on television), or of visiting a memorial, is quite different from participating in a public commemoration or festival (which in turn incorporates a broad range of events), the one focusing more on the details and meaning of the past the other engaging more with the emotive and bodily processes. Although the methods of oral or literary transmission of tradition and the construction of monuments continue to attract much attention when the social memory is under consideration (Tonkin 1991, Fentress and Wickham 1992, Young 1993, Dyer 1994), Paul Connerton (1989) has argued for the importance of the active participation in ritual events as a means of encoding the social memory onto the individual body. In this study I want to use Connerton's perspective to focus on the ways in which ritual occasions serve to consolidate and extend the social memory. But, while Connerton emphasises the importance of the ritual form over its content, I want to give more equal weight to bodily and cognitive processes, to consider the importance of the performative aspects of 'festive occasions' before returning to the role of extracting meaning, in this case through the interpretation of symbols and images. Form and meaning become complimentary parts of the creation and maintenance of the social memory rather than alternative approaches, just as the ritual construction of memory may also enhance the vitality of oral narratives or fixed memorials. Expressed through a multiplicity of media, memory moves from an intensive experience to an extensive penetration of social life, from the liminal to the habitual.

Although ritual is widely acknowledged as being central to social and religious life in 'traditional' or non-industrialised societies, Kertzer (1988) has demonstrated how ritual remains equally prominent in Western political life. Most, if not all, states utilise ritual commemorations to celebrate their past glories and future aspirations. These may focus on the head of state

(Cannadine 1983), on military leadership or technological success (Lane 1981), on relationship between state and people (Kapferer 1988, Mach 1993), on sacrificial unity (Gregory 1994) or many other aspects of life. Whatever the details, ritual events are important in sustaining the imagined community. Kertzer offers a simple description of ritual as "symbolic behaviour that is socially standardised and repetitive" (1988 p 9), that is a formalised and stylised activity which is constrained within a tightly structured format and restricted to specific times or places which are outside of the normal flow of routine daily life. Kertzer argues that ritual is non-instrumental activity, in so far as it does not produce an immediate effect but, as Connerton argues with the examples of Nazi Germany, the ideals that are encoded in ritual may have much wider effect. Although the idea of the liminality is central to much of the analysis of ritual (Turner 1969, 1974,) the power and efficacy of rituals are not just restricted to the ritual occasion itself. Rituals themselves are "porous" activities, the meanings and values spill over into normal time, their effect begins before the event itself has begun and continues after it has ended (Connerton 1989 p 44). The focus of interest at ritual events may be a rarefied or an abstracted facet of communal life and the proceedings may be structured to distance the event from routine activities, but it nonetheless remains a central of the social world. Rituals require preparation and organisation, they are often subject to debate or argument, certainly to reflective discussion and comparison and increasingly to numerous modes of recording, from amateur photographs and videos to TV and documentary productions. As the scale of the event expands so does the overall importance of the ritual outside of the formal ritual time. In this way the ritual creation of memory begins to collide with other media such as oral narratives or the routine contact with memorials. The expansion of ritual time has been widely discussed in relation to the

major events such as carnival in places as diverse as Brazil (Da Matta 1977), New Orleans (Roach 1993), London (Cohen 1993) and Toronto (Jackson 1992). In some cases the ritual process seems to be in danger of becoming a total way of life rather than constrained by liminality,

But not endlessly so. To remain effective rituals need to be both restricted activities (at least for the majority of participants and the audience) but also to be repeated if they are to have effect. Rituals are often repetitive both in their internal structure and within the calendrical cycle, but they are repeated each time in a seemingly non-changing manner. This rhythmic patterning helps confirm their naturalness as an integral part of society. It is the formality and repetitiousness that gives much of the power to ritual and helps to generate a sense of belonging, a sense of order and a sense of continuity between the individual and the group, and between the group, the larger world and its past. This repetition might be the weekly visit to church or it may be the annual attendance at the local war memorial, but the apparent invariance in ritual routine, its resistance to change, archaic or formal language or dress, all imply and assume a legitimacy derived from the past, based on continuity and tradition. Participation integrates the individual into the large social body, while exclusion helps define the parameters of that body.

Many rituals do more than just imply a vague continuity with past events. They explicitly link the present with the past, explain the present in terms of the past or re-enact a narrative of past events. This Connerton argues is particularly true of the major religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam all structure their ritual calendars around the recalling and re-performing of founding or formative events. But this is equally true of many political rituals which commemorate key dates in the

founding of a particular state or social order. These may focus on the state itself through Independence Day celebrations as in Brazil, Israel or Mexico (Da Matta 1977, Handelman 1990, Vogt and Abel 1977) or particular defining events such as Bastille Day and Bonfire Night (Ozouf 1988, Cressy 1989) or an on idealised section of the society, the Ducal Procession in Venice or May Day in Eastern Europe (Muir 1981, Lane 1981, Mach 1992). The apparent historical continuity of ritual is an important feature of its power, the unchanging form is itself a major attraction, to join in and carry on a tradition, to follow in one's father's footsteps. This continuity of form inevitably hides changes in meaning. If a ritual remains central to social life of a community it is because of this paradox, it is at once unchanging and yet ever changeable.

For Connerton (1989) one of the aspects that makes ritual events an appropriate and powerful medium for maintaining and generating social memories is that they demand involvement and participation. Ritual events are essentially performative, they demand the active involvement of the participants. This does not mean that everyone must participate to the same extent, since the ritual process can and may be central to the differentiation of roles. It is difficult to remain on the sidelines at such events, to be present physically but not emotionally. The rhythmic repetition of sounds, whether liturgy, singing, chanting or music helps to create a sense of a collective identity where before there was only a collection of individuals. As the sound fills the available space, attention becomes focused, levels of expectation raised and the body is drawn into the performance. Once engaged the formalism of the ritual is then extended to bodily postures, forcing the participants to extremes of physical control or exertion either through extended or repetitive activity or the opposite, enforced non-activity. The participants become the subject of the performance and

the commemoration becomes a re-enactment. Through this physical involvement each of the participants shares in the primal suffering or privations of the communal ancestors.

When a ritual is moved out of the closed quarters of a building, a more formal separation between active performers and a passive audience seems more apparent. People are allocated distinct spaces and places, some are more central to the event in hand while others appear sidelined, reduced to spectators, but in public events the barrier between central and marginal performers, the active and the passive, may be more apparent than real. This is because:

it can be just as important for the spectators to be seen by the 'actors' or by other spectators as it is for the viewers to watch (Marin 1987 p 227).

The totality of the ritual performance must therefore be extended to include the audience who may be playing a role as much as those more demonstrably on display. In this environment of watched watchers, participation, and by extension, membership of the commemorating community, is confirmed by a range of physical activity, by a bodily expression of the encoded and habituated ritual routines. This active bodily involvement is fundamental to commemorative rituals. Rather than simple recognition or acknowledgement of the importance of the past, participation in the ritual event generates a collective re-enactment of the past. By such a re-enactment, the past, now mythified and decontextualised, is transformed into an 'unchanging and unchangeable substance' and becomes an indispensable part of the present (Connerton 1989 p 43).

One needs be cautious of developing this argument into one in which collective participation is the same as a single understanding of the importance or meaning of the ritual, an example of the Durkheimian collective consciousness. This is a problem with Connerton's over reliance on the

form of ritual rather than the content. Although ritual events may appear to be a singular celebration, they may in fact incorporate many diverse interpretations within the apparently unified mass. The efficacy of ritual stems in part from its very ambiguity and its openness to multiple interpretations. The ambiguity and openness allows people to participate for different and sometimes radically diverging reasons, and as the scale of the ritual event expands so may its meaning (Cohen 1993). This is one feature which I want to discuss when considering the range and scale of participation in the Orange parades.

Connerton also argues that resistance to change, long term continuity and invariance are key features affecting the legitimacy of rituals (particularly with regard to the major world religions). These are factors that interested early students of ritual from Durkheim onwards, and who explained religion and ritual in terms of the function it performed for society as a whole. Rituals were seen as the stabilising and integrative forces of society, reinforcing normative values but also providing a cathartic release or safety valves for contradictory pressures. But it is also clear that many rituals undergo substantial changes in both form and meaning, while still being presented as unchangeable or being used to emphasise the continuity between the present and past. Muir (1981) discusses the complex changes in Venetian ritual life over a period of several hundred years, while English Bonfire Night commemorations have been followed over a period of nearly 400 years (Cressy 1989, 1992, Storch 1982). Goody (1993) has traced some of the changes of May Day festivals from medieval fertility rites to contemporary workers' festival and Bloch (1986) similarly traced the Merina circumcision rituals over a two hundred year period. All these studies show how rituals can and will be used by different sections of society at different times. They may mean different things to different groups at the same time or different

things to the same class or group over time. These same rituals may be contested and fought over, praised and condemned and ultimately completely transformed in meaning while retaining an apparently constant form. This is an important process to investigate because of the importance that is given to "tradition" when disputes arise over the ritual process in Ireland. Rather than being a rigid and constraining facet of society, ritual can be extremely flexible and adaptable. While in itself this suggests something of the vitality of the ritual process, and so explain why rituals have flourished when it is predicted that they might disappear (Boissevain 1965, 1984, 1993a,b), it also creates problems for Connerton's argument in favour of form over content. Even if the form remains stable it does not imply that the meaning must be static: in fact discontinuity between form and meaning may contribute to the persistence of a ritual by increasing the multivocality of the event and thereby its ambiguity, and in turn, its vitality.

While acknowledging the importance of the form of the event, Connerton's avoidance of consideration of meaning weakens his overall argument that ritual is central to the maintenance of a social memory. Form and content taken together increase the power of ritual to create social meaning. Besides looking at what ritual does and how it does it, it remains necessary to consider just what ritual says, or tries to say, to the individual taking part because, as Ortner puts it, ritual is:

first and foremost a system of meanings - goals, values, concerns, visions, world constructions - and we cannot know in any non-trivial way what it does - or how it does it - until we know what it says.

She describes ritual as a "two-way transformer" which shapes individual consciousness to a society's cultural norms but also shapes culture in conformity with the practical consciousness of everyday life. This process of

"restructuring actors' perceptions, feelings and interpretations of their world" occurs through "symbolic/semantic manipulation" and is most effective when "music, dance, rhythmic chant, verbal repetition...and the like" have affected the actors normal psychological state (Ortner 1978 pp 5-6). Similarly for Leach, ritual "serves to express the individual's status as a social person in the structural system" which it does through a "pattern of symbols...which make explicit what is otherwise a fiction" (Leach 1954 p 10-16). Both authors nevertheless acknowledge that while ritual symbols manipulate or restructure consciousness by focusing on features of society that are not normally explicit, this still does not mean that all participants interpret the symbols or the ritual in the same way.

The ambiguity of the ritual process is an important factor in any ritual event being accessible to a large number of people. This ambiguity stems from the different roles individuals have in the ritual or from their varied interests, but it is also linked to the central role that symbols play in ritual communication. Symbols always have a certain vagueness about them: since they can embody a diversity of ideas within a single form they can rarely be reduced to a single precise meaning. They can both be used to stress different things at different times and to different people or be used to elaborate variations of a central ideal. It is the wider context of presentation of icons and symbols which is a key feature in anchoring them to any one particular understanding or meaning (Kertzer 1988, Turner 1967).

Rites of conspicuous display permit the most important symbolic elements of the community to be seen, touched, adored, or worshipped...In sacred processions and secular parades, the icons and symbolic elements are...moved through space specifically adorned with ephemeral festive decorations such as festoons, flower arrangements, hangings, lights, and flags. In such perambulatory events ...the ruling groups typically

display themselves as their guardians and keepers, and as depositories of religious or secular power, authority, and military might (Falassi 1987 p 4).

The display of these images or artifacts helps to authorise and legitimise the controllers but it also helps to define their meaning by containing it within the specific context of the event. Falassi's description of conspicuous display includes many of the features of visual display which are used at commemorative parades in the north of Ireland when the banners of the various brotherhoods are produced bearing some of the key symbols of contemporary social and political life. But if, as we have noted above, the strength and power of symbols derives from their vagueness and ambiguity will images of King William III, David and Goliath and the Bible, or St Patrick, Sarsfield and the Maid of Erin be appropriate forms of media for the generation and maintenance of a social memory, will they convey any meaning besides an arcane, provincial and myopic interest in a long dead past conflict and minor historical personalities?

VISUAL MEMORY

I noted earlier that the process of encoding the past into memories involves a process of transformation of events into images or stories. The close links between the visual senses and memory have been recognised from the earliest existing writings on mnemonics. Much of the recent consideration of classical studies of memory have focused on individual mnemonic systems derived from the writings of Cicero, dating from the first century BC, which were devised for retaining and reproducing extensive amounts of information. Cicero argued that to develop a good memory the individual must first construct a mental geography of places or buildings, then one can convert the facts and ideas that s/he wishes to remember into images and store them within this mental architecture. The memorised map or

space is ideally based on a real place which was well known to the individual while the stored images need not necessarily be literal representations of the thing to be remembered but may simply be arbitrary and personal signifiers (Caruthers 1990, Spence 1988, Yates 1978). However, as well as recognising images as the most reliable means of retaining memories, Cicero also regarded sight as the keenest of all senses and that things that have actually been seen are more "easily retained in the mind" than "perceptions received by the ears or by reflection" (quoted in Harwood 1976 p 793). According to Cicero, visual images are the ideal media for promoting memory formation as well as for storage.

However current research suggests that visual memories of familiar objects are readily distorted or fragmentary if the details have not been closely observed or noted. Although we may retain some of the prominent features, we forget or misremember the background or incidental details (Richardson 1993). How do we reconcile this apparent contradiction that on one hand the visual senses are the most sensitive for purposes of remembering and on the other that visual images are only poorly recalled? One suggestion is that the problem of accurately remembering visual images is due to the fact that they often include too much information. They include too many focal points and too many possible interpretations, a feature which on the one hand makes images difficult to control, or restrict in meaning, while on the other difficult to recall (Berger and Mohr 1989). Gombrich (1980) argues that to be made memorable and to be remembered, images must be simplified. They must be broken down into smaller images or schematic outlines, "visual concepts" in Gombrich's terminology. The key features must be enlarged or centred, while the colours are made brighter, the backgrounds are simplified and any unnecessary details removed. We are left not with a work of art but perhaps with an image of childlike simplicity as

the base on which elaborate mythic pasts can be built. If this is an ideal schema for creating memorable images or visualised concepts then it coincides with the practices which are employed in many of the designs on the banners. Most of these carry a simple and formulaic image which is painted for clarity rather than for aesthetic considerations.

If the importance of visual images for creating memories has been readily recognised, pictorial representations have been less widely regarded as an appropriate medium for conveying them. In many studies, verbalised transmission is presented as the most appropriate or dominant means by which memories are shared. Nevertheless, the practices of story telling do offer some useful indications of what may be important in conveying memories visually. In traditions such as oral poetry the use of repetitive and formulaic conventions are used as an aide-memoire for both the narrator and the audience. These formulae enable the story to be told correctly and also provide cues for the audience when introducing dramatic episodes, while repetition permits these key episodes to be stressed and to be told from different perspectives as well as from the viewpoint of different characters. The process of telling is not a matter of verbatim recitation of a known text but an extended improvisation within a more or less bounded structure. It is more or less bounded because the audience will have a good knowledge of the story which is being told and therefore will expect it to be told in a certain manner. The audience as much as the narrator will know what is appropriate as part of the story and what is out of place, they are largely being told something they already know. Social memory works at the level of recalling shared meanings and not through creating surprises. It confirms rather than challenges. But this does not mean that memory is inflexible or rigid, the process of improvisation also allows the narrative to be adapted to changing

circumstances and to incorporate new characters or events where it is appropriate. Because of this shared knowledge and relative flexibility the story can be broken down into a number of distinct episodes or "tableaux", a form known as paratactic narrative. In a paratactic narrative the episodes are recounted in only a rough sequential order with no strong narrative thrust between one segment and the next, each episode is relatively complete in itself. This form also permits longer or shorter versions of the narrative to be told by omitting some episodes and including others at different times (Fentress and Wickham 1992 Chapter 2). This form also permits new events which conform to the structured expectations to be readily incorporated into the social memory without disrupting the existing remembered temporal flow while at the same time allows some equally important parts of history are forgotten.

Images were used in this manner in medieval times in a range of media, in stained glass windows, on tapestries and as marginal illustrations in books. Broken down into simple segments they could be viewed in a number of ways: as a series of single striking images, as a continuous narrative or as a group of structured moral oppositions. The aim was not just decorative: they were also allegorical, educational aids, constructed as signposts guiding people to higher truths (Carruthers 1990, Kemp 1989). More recent studies, by Jewsiewicki (1986) of popular painting in Zaire and by Evans (1992) of political stamps in Poland, have shown how a variety of simple visual images can be used as a political weapon to challenge the dominant views of history. Evans shows how Solidarity reclaimed and remembered diverse aspects of Polish history, linking Catholicism, the pre-Communist state, the Resistance movement and the contemporary Solidarity led opposition, and thus undermined the Government version of the past by substituting a viable alternative. Jewsiewicki shows how

the memory of violence and injustice in both colonial and post-colonial Zaire has been maintained through a series of paintings produced for sale but aimed at a popular, rather than high, art consuming public. The two dominant communities in Northern Ireland have also adopted visual displays to convey their own distinct and specific understandings of a shared history. The emphasis on a visual expression permits a certain openness of meaning which on one hand allows for varying interpretations but on the other prevents the containment of meaning within a centralised discourse. The clarity of an image which makes it readily recognisable at the same time makes it harder to define.

INTERPRETING VISUAL IMAGES

The most widely used theoretical model for analysing visual media is derived from semiotics and in particular the work of Roland Barthes (1973, 1977). Barthes' work is principally derived from theoretical approaches to the study of linguistics by Saussure and Hjelmslev, but also has an ancestry in the work of earlier theorists of art and visual representations such as Panofsky (1955) and Peirce (1932, 1940). Barthes is concerned with exploring the way that objects or the material culture of a society is used as a system of communication, to express meaning both in an obvious and easily understood manner but also within a coded, symbolic system. All communication systems are composed of signs, which can be separated analytically into signifier and signified; where the signifier is the object itself and the signified is its meaning, the sign is thus the meaningful object. The relationship between the signifier and signified is arbitrary, a non-natural culturally specific relationship which through custom and usage has come to be accepted as natural and obvious. This is most readily understood through linguistic examples. In English we naturally associate the signifier c-o-w with the

mental concept (signified) of a four legged mammal that produces milk and emits a mooing sound, in French a completely different and unconnected signifier (v-a-c-h-e) has the same function. Both signifiers are completely arbitrary and have no natural or practical relation to the material object, they are meaningful only within their respective cultures. Barthes refers to this basal level of cultural meaning as denotation.

But sign systems function on more than just the practical communicative level of denotation, they are also used symbolically to refer to concepts and meanings at a more abstract level. At this second level the sign functions as a signifier permitting entry to a series of more restricted or coded meanings. This is the level of connotation. Where on the denotative level a drawing of a cow can be read as a literal representation of the depicted beast, at the connotative level it can represent such ideas as nature, natural produce, freshness or health. The connotative level requires a greater degree of cultural knowledge to read, the meaning will be more allusive and uncertain and may be interpreted differently by different people or even denied altogether. Because the meaning is more allusive and contestable the connotative sign is also less controllable and more readily connected to other signifiers so that its meaning is potentially endless.

Connotative meanings have the potential to be expanded both vertically and horizontally, paradigmatically through metaphor and syntagmatically through metonym. Metaphorical connections are made via recognition of equivalences, that something is or functions in a similar manner to the sign in question rather than it being exactly equal to it, while metonymic expansion is a function of some form of logical connection to the sign. The example above of a cow as a symbol of nature or health works through metonym, but a cow can also be used as a derogatory metaphor for a woman.

While this opens up a wide range of possible symbolic meanings for any sign they are nevertheless culturally specific, relevant to a particular time and place: just as signs may take on new specific symbolic values they can also lose them. Any analysis of a system of symbols must necessarily consider the particular social and political culture in which they are used and be aware of changes of use and meaning through time.

If denotation and connotation expose the image to multiple interpretations, the intended meaning is often directed or focused through the use of words. These may be in the form of a caption or of a slogan or may appear as a substantial body of text. Often the text acts as an agent of those cultural and historical brakes that are already placed on the chain of signification and further constrain or direct the reading or understanding of an image. They are an attempt by the producer of the image to exert control and reduce possible ambiguity. Unlike written texts, visual representations are an extremely poor medium with which to be precise in saying things. Although they may be successful in conveying generalities, moods, atmosphere and impressions and of condensing numerous ideas within a small space or amount of work, an image is always relatively unfocused and out of control (Gombrich 1980). A caption or similar can direct the reader to one particular reading or open one particular door in a syntagmic chain of meaning. For Barthes (1977 p39), this linking of words or captions with images serves primarily as a form of "anchorage", to focus attention to one aspect of the image rather than any other, and therefore to constrain the range of interpretations, but it can also serve to move the image along by a process of "relay". Although Barthes regards relay as being more appropriate to moving images such as film, it can be an important aid to the narrative process, by alluding to non-depicted but related events or as a bridging medium in paratactic narratives.

In "The Rhetoric of the Image" (Barthes 1977) where this schematic system was most clearly laid out, Barthes applied and structured his theoretical model to the images of advertising and mass consumption. Although semiotic approaches have been applied to a wide range of visual media from prehistoric rock art to contemporary fashion (Tilley 1992, Hebdige 1979), advertising has remained a most fertile ground for this type of analysis (Williamson 1978, Leiss, Kline and Jhally 1986, Myers 1986, Dyer 1988, Goffman 1979, Goldman 1993). One of the features of semiotic analyses of advertising images, in particular, is that the visual images are always overloaded with information which therefore allows a multitude of possible interpretations. It becomes impossible to say what something actually means, only what it means to one person or what it might mean in specific contexts. While the creator of the image may seek to constrain these potential readings by such means as verbal anchors, framing devices and restrictions on access, the image is always relatively distanced from its producer and relatively autonomous, and therefore open to new and unexpected interpretations (Ricoeur 1981). Semiotics, therefore, remains the most useful theoretical starting point for an understanding of the images with which I am concerned.

We can consider how these theoretical concepts apply to an understanding of some of the images under consideration in this study. The most common image among the loyalist community is the depiction of a man on a white horse. One can recognise that this image functions first and simplest at what Panofsky (1955) calls the level of pre-iconographical literal description, where all that is required is a basic cultural knowledge to recognise it as an image of man on horseback. The vast majority of the population of Ireland will recognise that this image denotes King William III, what Peirce (1940) calls an "icon", something that conveys meaning or signifies because

of its similarity to an object, (Panofsky's second level of iconographical analysis). The image used to represent King Billy is derived from an 18th century oil painting which ultimately serves as the referent object. But few contemporary Irish people have seen this original work of art, recognition of the iconic King Billy who appears in Northern Ireland depends not on the similarity to an original painting nor to a resemblance to the historical figure himself but to the inclusion of certain components, certain sub-iconic features from which the icon itself is constructed. The most important features of any iconic representation of King Billy are his historical dress (often coloured red, white and blue as a further symbolic device), his hand holding a sword aloft and his white horse, depicted walking through water. The single most important signifier of his "King Billyness" can be reduced to the white horse. But is it these features alone rather than any notion of style, quality or likeness that denote the identity of the figure. As I shall explore in detail below it is those essential features that denote the subject which in turn lead us into, or connote, his symbolic meaning.

Similarly the portrayal of St Patrick commonly found on the banners of the Ancient Order of Hibernians is denoted not by any resemblance to the 6th century historical figure but by the portrayal of the snakes that he is casting out of Ireland. His appearance in the dress of a Catholic Archbishop and the modern looking church in the background denote him as a modern-ish figure. This in turn creates an opening to stress his symbolic importance as both ancestor and contemporary. Both iconic figures are already highly conventionalised although they are still functioning at a non-coded denotative level. This stylisation acts in a similar manner to text, to anchor and focus our understanding of the symbolic importance of the figures and direct it into specific metaphoric and metonymic systems.

Words are also an important feature of both banners and murals, primarily in identifying the group and their place of origin, that is to anchor the range of interpretations by linking the group and image so that the group comes to be a living embodiment of the ideal, be this the dead hero/ancestor or the moral virtue. Other mottos or slogans largely function to direct the reading: often they add a philosophical or moral epitaph to a historical person or event and aim to complete the process of closure so that the intended meaning is clarified and ambiguity restricted.

However, while both the image and the text are contained and constrained by the interconnectedness, by the overall framing of the image and by its distinctiveness from other images, it is impossible to understand these images in isolation, separate from each other and self contained. This is a major problem with most studies of advertising, they tend to treat the images in isolation and as self contained objects. The frame of the advert is the limit of analytical consideration. Meaning or meanings emerge from within rather than from clashes on the margins, although, as Berger (1977 p152) points out, in practice the dream world of advertising images, in particular in magazines and on TV, is forced to cohabit with the broader world of news images and the like. Likewise the images on the banners and on walls are not displayed in isolation, the process of relay or connectedness between images is very important. At each parade a wide range of images are displayed, images that all relate to a common theme but which are jumbled together in no particular order. Individual banners proclaim their own rhetorical message, but it is always only a part of a larger whole. This means that while the individual frame of an image marks some sort of limitation on the range of meanings, the individual images also begin to dissolve into the whole. Metaphoric and metonymic connotations become entwined. Historical events mixed with Biblical events, real people with mythic, kings with

commoners and saints with warriors. The parade takes on the aspect of a slow moving chaotic cartoon, with no obvious logical beginning or end to its story but constant variations on themes of individual and collective faith, betrayal, sacrifice, resistance and victory, endlessly repeated and connected together. Which is how some parties like to portray Ireland's history, a cyclical and unresolvable, timeless conflict.

For mural paintings, a single image is far more common and consequently less elaborate concepts and ideas are communicated. However, often the single image will include a wide selection of symbols which have little meaning except as metaphoric equivalences and in which traditional or normative readings of a sign is moved on or refocused. These statements are probably seen by a smaller number of people than those on parades but they are seen more often. Fixed in space but extended in time, their presence becomes part of the routine environment and the message more readily accepted because of its very mundanity, being part of the unchallenged *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977). Anchoring an image to a particular place may be a key feature in its effectiveness since both its rhetorical force and resonance are increased (Schudson 1989). I have already noted the classical mnemonic practice of conjoining objects and ideas to be remembered with particular spaces or places, a practice that can be extended to include many contemporary societies for whom memories of the recent or the mythical past are maintained by their anchorage in specific house sites, gardens, tracks or features of the natural landscape (Feld 1982, Morphy and Morphy 1984, Rosaldo 1980). Murals are also a medium in which memories and ideology, the past and the future, can be brought together, and provide anchors for the identity of a particular community.

METHODOLOGY

The research for this study has not followed the traditional research programme. It has not been based around the "year in the field", the anthropologists' annual cycle of immersion within the chosen society in which s/he studies and learns about the chosen society through participant observation. Instead the data has been gathered over a period of several years. The initial research was the product of a number of visits, some extending for some months, some for a few weeks, others for only a few days. This has been augmented by permanent residence in Belfast since September 1995.

My first fieldwork visits took place between July and September 1990, this work was undertaken for a study in my final year as an undergraduate. In this study, published as "Troubled Images. The Iconography of Loyalism" (Jarman 1992), I concentrated on comparing the uses of visual imagery within the two dominant extra-Parliamentary political groupings of the Protestant community, the Orange Order and the Loyalists' paramilitary groups. This study looked at how these groups used differing media and spaces to express their ideals, while at the same time sharing a common symbolic and iconic repertoire.

Further visits were made in the summer of 1991 during which time my research looked more closely at the changing geography of Belfast within the context of the Troubles. This work built on some of the themes addressed in the earlier study but also included the activities of the Nationalist and Republican community and the role of the state and security forces in creating a multi-layered contested landscape (Jarman 1993).

Research continued with a series of visits beginning at Easter 1992 and continuing through to the summer of 1994,

when I made a permanent move. The research programme for this study has now lasted for 5 years and six marching seasons. There are a number of reasons why the fieldwork has been carried out in this manner rather than by following more standard practices within the discipline. Traditionally the earlier stages of the anthropologist's year long fieldtrip have involved familiarisation with the society and culture to be studied, learning the language, making contacts and generally establishing oneself on the ground. Working in Ireland has meant that I have no language problems while the culture is relatively familiar, my own association with the area dates back to 1978 and I have made regular visits in the ensuing years. The continuation of political violence in the north of Ireland has meant that the area has rarely been out of the news for long, so that anyone with a general interest and a critical perspective can keep up with the major developments and personalities through a wide range of media from television, radio and the newspapers, in novels and films, and in a wide range of documentary sources. My background knowledge and general understanding of my study area has been a matter of a long general immersion in the subject rather than a brief but intense one.

The second reason is practical. The aim of my research is a comparative study of the use of politically structured visual imagery, commemorative and ritual practices and the use of public space not only within sections of the two major communities but also between them. In very general terms anthropological research in the north of Ireland has taken one of two paths. The first approach, following on from the study conducted by Rosemary Harris in the early 1950's and published in 1972 as "Prejudice and Tolerance in Ulster", explored the ways and means that daily life was carried on in rural areas, how prejudices and divisions were maintained among relatively closely linked communities while actual violence was avoided. This community focused

genre includes the work of Buckley (1982), Larsen (1982a, 1982b), Leyton (1974) and MacFarlane (1986a,b). These studies are largely concerned with how life continued in the type of small scale communities in which anthropologists have predominately worked in spite of the bombings, shootings and rioting of the major urban areas. They offer a view of those "honest" or "gentle" people who inhabit an Ulster in which terrorists are as distant as they are to people in London, people who try to accommodate their neighbour's difference without wanting to shoot them.

The second and more recent approach has focused on the urban areas and on the people most affected by the differing aspects of the violent conflict, places in which the Troubles have become a way of life. This approach includes the work of Bell (1990), Bruce (1992), Jenkins (1983), McAuley (1994) and Nelson (1984) on the Loyalists and Burton (1978) Conroy (1988) and Sluka (1989) on the Nationalist community. The problems for the unknown outsider of undertaking research within the framework of a war are immense, if one attempts a participant observer methodology one is immediately restricted to a study of one community to the exclusion of the other and even then gaining the confidence of the people with whom one is living and studying is difficult (Gledhill 1994 Chap 9). Although these works have produced valuable in-depth case studies of specific communities or parts of communities, they have also tended to accentuate the sense of difference between these two communities, and while I recognise that there are major distinctions between Loyalists and Nationalists, these studies have done little to consider how similar they are in many respects, or rather how they share common roots and aspects of their histories, even if they have come to mean different things. One intention of my study is to explore how various of the customs, practices and symbols which in the late twentieth century have come to be seen as distinctive of one community or the

other, have in the past been shared or used by both. While having no desire to deny the radical differences in ideals and aspirations between Protestants and Catholics, I nevertheless hope to show how these are in part the product of a common history, that these differences have at times been more or less of a factor in social and political life in the north. Rather than being immutable distinctions they are contingent and challengeable.

I have not attempted to live within either section of the community, but have tried to carry out research in both. By focusing on specific common aspects of the material culture, I have been able to move relatively freely between the varied groups on both sides of the political divide, exploring tensions and differences of approach within both communities as well as between them. By studying the major commemorative displays, I have been able to concentrate my research into well defined periods, particularly around Easter and during the most concentrated times of the Marching Season and have attempted to work with, rather than struggle against some of the self imposed limitations. To date this approach has worked well, a lot of time has been spent walking the streets of (in particular) Belfast to gain an understanding of the sectarian geography and also to photograph the murals. A comparable amount of time has been spent at parades of various types covering not only the major events but also the smaller localised parades and by spreading the research over a number of years I have been able to attend some parades on several occasions. I have now covered the Twelfth of July parade five times in Belfast and also in a number of smaller towns. It has therefore been possible to begin to make a comparison between rural and urban parades within the communities as well as focusing on the similarities and differences between them.

There has never been any large scale study made of the banners, and no systematic attempt has been made to record them, although a small number of old banners are to be found in various museum collections. Mural images have been published in greater quantities but the paintings change fairly frequently. The only means of recording the paintings for future study has been to photograph them and I have now built up a collection numbering a several thousand images which form the basis for my analysis. The process of photographing banners and murals has been carried out in conjunction with talking to and questioning people about the images themselves. In all situations the overwhelming majority of people have been helpful and willing to talk to me. Although on occasions I have aroused suspicion, particularly when photographing parades and people on parades, fortunately this never created real difficulties. This concern was most noticeable at times when the general political tension was higher, such as during the summer of 1993 after serious rioting broke out in Loyalist areas. There was often an edge to peoples questioning with more than a few ending with "Just as long as I don't end up on the front of Republican News" (the Sinn Fein paper).

However perhaps the commonest question that I was asked, after "Why are you doing it?" was "Are you just doing our side or are you doing both?". Initially I was cautious in my response but most people seemed to welcome the fact that I was covering both sides and many would press for information on similarities and differences between for instance "our parades and theirs". Such discussions confirmed the reality of the gap that separates people in either community, in which there appears to be little firsthand knowledge of the "other".

Besides casual and random conversations with individuals attending commemorative events, a number of more formal

interviews have been made with a wide range of members of all of the organisations whose images and rituals have been under consideration. This has included various officials and members of the Orange Order, the Junior Orange Order, the Royal Black Institution, the Apprentice Boys of Derry, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Irish National Foresters, Sinn Fein and the Ulster Defence Association. Besides these a number of band members have also been interviewed. Several of these individuals have been helpful on more than one occasion, although none of them would fall into the category of a regular informant. The interviews have focused on points of information and clarification of detail but have also discussed individual interpretations of the meaning of images and the importance of parades, and therefore form the basis for much of my own understanding.

As well as the personal interviews, the extensive literature generated during the Troubles provides a broader context for fieldwork and analysis, and newspaper reports and articles going back to the 17th century have also been consulted. Apart from the usual range of libraries and museums, special mention should be made of the Political Collection at the Linenhall Library in Belfast which has attempted to collect as much of the printed and published material produced during the Troubles. Access to this collection has permitted a detailed consideration of the changing practices and the evolving symbolism of all of the above mentioned groups as well as many others.

Finally the relatively long timespan of the research programme has meant that I have been able to witness all of the major commemorations two or three times. This has allowed me to check facts and clarify uncertainties, to watch parades from different positions, or concentrate on different facets of what is often an elaborate performance. For the murals this time depth has allowed me to record the lifespan of some paintings, photographing elaborations,

decay, repair, vandalism and complete changes. I have also been able to cover events in a wider area than was originally envisaged when the area of study was planned to be just the city of Belfast. Instead I have attempted to cover a range of parades, commemorations, displays and mural paintings across the province, in city, town and village. The extended timescale has also enabled me to consider changes occurring within the domain of political display in response to changes in the broader political arena as well as variations which occur naturally and which are inevitable when one is concerned with grass roots and relatively autonomous political movements.

THE STRUCTURE OF PRESENTATION.

The study explores the role of parades and visual displays in structuring and maintaining sectarian divisions within contemporary life in the north of Ireland. It is divided into four distinct sections. The first part looks at the history of parades and parading and the use of visual displays in the north of Ireland from the 17th century to the present. It explores the changes and developments in the practice and the background to the "inevitability" of the sectarian divide. The second section deals with the ethnography of parading, its importance in social and political life, of showing how sectarian geography is mapped out and sustained by the parades, how parades are used to commemorate specific events by re-enacting battles of the past and how in turn the parades help sustain the conflict in the present. The third section documents and analyses the contemporary use of banner displays on the parades to discover what parts of history are actually being remembered during the marching season. The final section, on mural painting, explains how the commemorations of the marching season are extended into the rest of the year and into areas less central to the parades. It shows how this medium is used by differing groups, sometimes of

necessity sometimes of choice, how the paintings sometimes form part of an internal critique and at others act as an expression of a more extreme voice which needs be more guarded in more public circumstances.

In each case I focus first on the practice within the loyalist community and then go on to the nationalist practice. This is because in each case the loyalist tradition is either most developed and extensive or most widely documented. Protestants have paraded more often over more areas in the past, they likewise parade more in the present day, and they parade with a larger and wider range of banners. They also established the mural painting tradition. The reasons for these differentials will be explored fully within the body of the text.

Finally to deal with some absences. In attempting to cover an already extensive body of material some corners have been cut. There is already an extensive body of literature on Northern Ireland dealing with the historical, geographical, demographic and political background to the society and to the conflict. I acknowledge this where appropriate but do not intend to duplicate it. This is not a work of history but rather a study of how the past is selectively used in the present or perhaps in numerous presents; it is not a study of social geography although it is concerned with the construction of place; it is not about Politics with a large P but instead it is about the structures and beliefs that underpin a particular aspect of politics - how history, geography and identity are interwoven to create and sustain a sense of difference.

PART ONE.
THE TRADITION OF PARADING.

Tradition is one of the most over used words in contemporary Northern Ireland. It is used when referring to habitual practices that are, or appear to be or are claimed to be, rooted in the past. The term has a particular resonance when invoked in connection with the right to parade. Loyalist groups in particular readily claim their traditional rights to march along traditional routes throughout the traditional marching season. To outsiders or nationalists this tradition often seems to invoke the right to march where they will, when they will. Changing circumstances of geography or demography are rarely regarded as acceptable reasons for giving up one's traditional rights. Time passes but traditions remain, they are regarded as unchanging and unchangeable, they connect the present to the past and affirm the meaning of that past for those in the present. Identity is based on a sense of the continuity of tradition and traditional rights. But maintaining one's identity means not just invoking tradition but actively maintaining it, year in, year out. And maintaining a tradition means being seen to maintain it. To have meaning, traditions therefore must be made visible in the public life of Northern Ireland and made visible on a regular basis. Any challenge to a tradition is therefore also a visible, public event and as such is a threat to one's status, one's identity and one's history. To have a tradition revoked, whether it be the playing of the national anthem at the Queens University graduation ceremony or the right of the Loyal Orders to parade along Belfast's Ormeau Road, past a betting shop where UFF gunmen killed 5 Catholics in 1992 (two major disputes in 1995

post-ceasefire Belfast), is seen as a potentially devastating threat to communal identity. Revoking a tradition is the slippery slope to change. For Unionists all challenges to tradition are seen as a capitulation to the IRA. They are a threat to the Union, to one's identity as British and as a Protestant. It is the beginning of the road to Rome-rule, to Dublin-rule and integration into a United Ireland. Any change to tradition is resisted to the utmost with an attitude expressed by the slogan "Not an Inch", "No Surrender" or more brutally with a simple "NO".

Nationalists are less prone to invoke these same rights, largely because they have traditionally been excluded from equal participation in the public sphere of Northern Ireland. Their commemorations have been marginalised. Their traditions are not those of triumphal success but rather dogged determination in spite of defeat. They have been less keen to invoke traditional rights and instead have demanded civil or equal rights. Nevertheless they are ready to acknowledge the power of the language of tradition when appropriate. In August 1985 Sinn Fein claimed that a parade through Downpatrick was traditional because it had been held since 1982, and in 1986 Gerry Adams insisted the annual Internment Commemoration Rally on the Falls Road would go ahead in spite of police opposition because it also was traditional (Irish News 9-8-82, 10-8-86). This suggests that tradition is a dynamic aspect of socio-political life in the north of Ireland. Traditions can be increased as much as they can be reduced, they can be expanded and extended. Traditions therefore are an active part of the creation of identity and of the maintenance of difference. And as active facets of cultural life we should expect the traditions themselves to undergo change. We should expect the practices which are reified as "tradition" to be invoked in different ways in different times. They may be used by different interest groups and given different meanings but nonetheless, as local practice

become sedimented as tradition, it will be built on by later generations.

In these first chapters I want to trace the development of the tradition of parading in Ireland from the late 17th century, with particular focus on the practice of holding parades creating elaborate visual displays to mark the Williamite anniversaries. This is an area of Irish history that has been largely ignored, narrating the history of the Irish parading tradition means starting from scratch and would demand a major historical study. This is not an attempt to provide that study, but is rather an attempt to provide a historical perspective and to supply context to the later ethnographic data, an attempt to trace some threads of this tradition. Williamite commemorations are unique in so far as they can be traced in some detail over a period of 300 years, during which time the anniversaries have been used by a number of different groups and sections of society to express varied meanings and support varied political opinions. This development provides the focus of my history: it will be considered both within the context of the emerging sectarian character of politics in Ulster and in relation to the emergence of other similar traditions of parading (1).

The early Williamite parades in Dublin have received some consideration (Hill 1984, Simms 1974), but the Ulster parades have been ignored and forgotten. In a recent article "1641, 1689, 1690 and All That : The Unionist sense of History", Brian Walker questioned the idea that a folk memory has preserved and maintained popular understanding of 17th century history. Instead he argues that the events of the Williamite era only came to be considered of real importance within the political environment of the late nineteenth century and that the "evidence about lack of interest in these events during the 18th and much of the 19th century...is conveniently forgotten" (1992 p 61).

Walker argues that the centenary anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne was largely ignored by Protestants and that the campaigns of the 1690s "were not major events to be commemorated every year" because they had "largely faded from memory" (p 58) and were only rediscovered in the later 19th century as part of an emerging Unionist political consciousness. From Walker's perspective, the Protestant commemorations of the Williamite era were largely an "invented tradition", one among many similar traditions that were constructed across Europe in the period 1870-1914, to invoke a spurious history was to give cohesion to radically changing social formations (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In Ireland, apart from extensive economic, industrial and demographic transformations, this was also a period of growing demands among (in particular) the Roman Catholic population for either Home Rule or Independence from Britain, while the Protestant and Unionist identity was being confirmed as essentially British.

Although fundamental and wide ranging changes occurred in the nature of the Williamite commemorations in the nineteenth century, the suggestion that the events of the late 17th century were ignored in Ireland for nearly 200 years is wrong. The centenary was largely ignored because of the specific political circumstances of the time, but a few years before and after the anniversary was widely celebrated. Prior to the late nineteenth century these celebrations were more in the nature of a custom, a variable and varied routine that was established and maintained by practice; while after 1870 a more formalised, unified and invariable tradition was developed (Hobsbawm 1983 pp 2-3). This was not invented from scratch by the urban middle and upper classes but rather was developed from the customary practices of the predominately rural, lower classes. Their disruptive and unruly festivities were gradually controlled, refined and elaborated in the process



of being co-opted to the explicit interests of the urban Protestant bourgeoisie.

Rather than consider the Williamite celebrations as a simple case of "before and after", or as a contrast between custom and tradition, I want to break the history down into three separate periods. From 1690 to the formation of the Orange Order in 1795 the celebrations were largely "open". William was symbolically used by a number of different interest groups. During this period the lower classes were largely invisible on the public stage. The parades were displays of the authority and privilege of the *ancien regime* but were soon emulated by the emerging Protestant middle class (2). Parading was consolidated as a cultural practice in the late 18th century because of its possibilities as an overt political instrument, a medium not simply for displays of grandeur but a more explicit medium of displaying potential force. But after successfully achieving their constitutional demands, the middle classes largely withdrew from the use of public displays of strength for almost a century.

From 1795 to 1868 the custom of parading was restricted to the rural lower classes in Ulster. Their parades always verged on the edge of legality and they regularly crossed the boundary into uncontrolled violence. As a result the interest of the state and the respectable members of society was directed at controlling and constraining these events. But popular parades were only one of a number of "uncivilised" practices that were subject to the censorious eye of the ruling classes in Victorian Ireland. Although the parades predominated in Ulster, the new morality or "civilising process" was nationwide, while a similar broad ranging reform of popular mores and practices occurred in England and more widely throughout Europe (Elias 1982, Malcolmson 1978). Modernity and industrialisation could not accommodate the localism and disorder of Irish social life

and a diverse range of popular customs and practices were seen as being at odds with the morality of the times. These activities ranged from rural sports such as cock fighting, which was banned; the revelry of fairs and popular religious holidays, including the general license and revelry of the Belfast Easter holidays on Cave Hill and the festivities at Donnybrook, which were restricted or closed; excessive drinking and distilling of whiskey, which were countered by laws and temperance crusades; immoral sexuality and courting practices, which were subject to renewed challenge from the religious authorities; unchristianlike funeral celebrations at wakes which were banned by the Catholic Church; and forms of recreational violence, from duelling to faction fighting and including the northern parading tradition, which were all confronted by a restructured police force and a reformed judiciary. All these activities and more were targeted and tamed in the years between 1840 and 1880 (Connolly 1982, Donnelly 1988, Gray 1983, Malcolm 1986, Rafferty 1994).

In Ireland it proved increasingly difficult to control or eradicate the popular parades, instead they were incorporated into the broader body politic. Legalised in 1872 they became an increasingly central part of the political process. The parades themselves were largely peaceful and were supported by the political leadership of the two communities in the north. The anniversaries became occasions for mass mobilisations of support, parades ended in major political rallies dominated by large numbers of speeches and, more importantly for this study, they were the occasion for ever more elaborate and extensive visual displays. In tracing this history through 300 years I want to focus on the process of annual re-enactment and to see what the participants themselves were saying and not saying rather than focus on the rhetoric of the political leadership. I want to explore how people expressed their understanding of the past through the material culture, how

the form and meaning changed, and thereby to indicate how the "folk memory" of the Boyne and other anniversaries has been maintained and transmitted over the past three centuries.

PART ONE, CHAPTER 2
ESTABLISHING A CUSTOM, 1690-1794

England had established a presence in Ireland in the 12th century as Norman adventurers arrived seeking new lands. But they were few in number and it was only in the second half of the 16th century during the reign of Elizabeth I that the English crown sought to establish firmer control over the entire island. Of the four kingdoms of Ireland: Connacht, Leinster, Munster and Ulster, it was Ulster which remained most independent of England's colonising and military presence. Geographically, Ulster was both isolated and defended by the wild border country of hills, woods, rivers and marshes, but persistent military campaigns from the 1560s onwards ultimately led to the defeat of the native forces, led by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, at Kinsale in 1601. In 1607 Tyrone and Tyrconnell abandoned Ireland (the Flight of the Earls) and their lands in the west of the kingdom were confiscated by the English crown and made available for plantation. Ulster, formerly the most gaelic of regions, was to become the most British.

From 1609 onwards the Government drew up plans for the systematic plantation of the western Ulster counties of Armagh, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh and Tyrone, with settlers from England and Scotland. The Merchants Companies of the City of London were encouraged to develop the plantation of county Coleraine and establish towns in the region. Their legacy remains in the renamed city and county of Londonderry, and smaller settlements such as Draperstown, Co.Tyrone. The major colonisation of Ulster

was via a more informal influx of Scots across the North Channel into the eastern counties of Antrim and Down. The most important feature of this settlement was that the colonisers were Protestants, a mixture of Anglicans and Presbyterians, while Ireland, unaffected by the Reformation, remained Catholic. While the government envisioned a substantial replacement of the native population by the colonisers, the result was a much more diverse settlement pattern. It proved much harder to attract the number of planters necessary to complete the government plans and many Irish remained in their native areas, if often reduced to the poorer upland soils rather than the fertile valleys.

Ulster became a much more varied and fragmented region as settler and native, coloniser and colonised, Protestant and Catholic lived side by side. Although intermarriage, religious conversion and acculturation undoubtedly did occur, the two communities remained largely distinct and separate. But the old resentments were remembered and when the opportunity arose they were acted on. In 1641 the Irish rebelled under Rory O'More. In many places revenge was taken and settlers put to the sword. In 1649 Oliver Cromwell arrived in Ireland and in his turn slaughtered, confiscated lands and banished the Irish landowners to the barren western area of Connaght.

(A)lmost all Catholic landowners disappeared in Ulster ...Land was granted to soldiers and 'adventurers'...A fresh set of landowners and jobbers arrived in Ulster, but this time there was no real attempt to remove the native cultivators. The Gaelic aristocracy already shattered by the Ulster plantation, was all but wiped out and the foundations of the Protestant Ascendancy had been firmly laid (Bardon 1992 141-142).

After his accession to the throne of England in 1685, James II assumed executive power and began to restore Roman Catholics to public positions. Fearing the restoration of a Catholic ascendancy as James exerted increasing control

over government, a number of leading Protestants approached the Dutchman, William, Prince of Orange. Assuring him of popular support they asked him to lead a military force against the King. William landed at Torbay in November 1688 and as he slowly advanced towards London, James fled. William's marriage to James' daughter Mary and their coronation as joint monarchs in February 1689 consolidated the Glorious Revolution. But although he had fled England, James returned to Ireland to rally his supporters and it was here that the military campaign for the kingdom was fought. Initially there had been no panic over James accession to the throne, nor was there any overwhelming support for William among the Irish Protestants, but as law and order began to break down in the rural areas the balance of opinion shifted (Gillespie 1992). The Protestants of Londonderry resisted the arrival of the Jacobite army, and the city was besieged from December 1688 until relief arrived in August 1689. The following year William landed at Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim to lead his army. The two forces met at the River Boyne on July 1 1690. Militarily the battle was inconclusive and the campaign continued and it was not until July 12 the following year that the decisive victory was won at the battle of Aughrim, and the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland was assured. However, the symbolic importance of the two monarchs leading their armies into battle, and James' defeat and subsequent flight from Ireland meant that the Boyne would be remembered as the key event.

PARADING WILLIAM'S MEMORY.

The first formal Williamite celebration in Ireland was held only months after the battle of the Boyne. On the occasion of the King's birthday, on November 4 1690, a military procession was held through Dublin, followed by a firework display and in the evening the lords justices of the city hosted a dinner for the nobility and leading citizens.

Throughout the city bonfires were lit and church bells rung in recognition of the day (Simms 1974, Hill 1984). Only a few days earlier the defeat of the 1641 Irish rebellion had been publicly commemorated with "great solemnity" in a similar manner.

The Lords Justices attended by all the Lords spiritual and Temporal, Judges, Officers of the Army, and others the Gentry in and about the City of Dublin, went from Clancarty House to St Patrick's Church with the King at Arms, Herrald at Arms and other Officers in their Formalities. After an excellent Sermon they returned in the like Order, where a splendid entertainment was prepared" (Dublin Intelligence 21/28-10-1690).

In the years following the confirmation of the Protestant victory, the anniversary of William and Mary's accession to the Throne and the Queen's birthday were marked by similar parades through Dublin, while November 5, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, was commemorated by a State procession to Christ Church. On each occasion the day ended with bonfires and illuminations ((Dublin Intelligence 10/17-2-1691, 29-4/11-5-1691, Dublin Gazette 4/8-11-1707, Dublin Intelligence 6-11-1711). By 1732 the practice of marking William's anniversary with an elaborate procession was firmly established: "the Great Guns were fired at the Barracks; at Noon there was a Numerous Appearance of the Nobility and Gentry" and in the evening there were fireworks. The following day was "most solemnly Observed" by a visit to Church (Dublin Gazette 4/7-11-1732). There seems to have been little variation in the form of commemoration throughout the century. The report for 1776 is typical and gives some sense of the scale of the proceedings: November 4th "being the Anniversary of the Birth and Landing of the late King William of Glorious Memory", the Lord Lieutenant held a levee at Dublin Castle at which were present

the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, attended by the City Regalia, after which there was a grand procession of several of the Nobility and Gentry from the Castle to

College-green round the statue of King William, as also, about Stephens-green. The great guns in his Majesty's Park the Phoenix were fired and answered by vollies of small arms from the barracks; thus the day concluded with ringing of bells, bonfires, illuminations and all other demonstrations of joy. (Belfast Newsletter (hereafter BNL) November 5-8 1776).

Those who joined the parade wore orange or blue cockades in their hats, the king's statue, erected in 1701 in College Green, was "new painted and ornamented with ribbons" (BNL 8-11-1779) and the royal flag was flown from Dublin Castle in honour of the day. The celebrations ended with a sumptuous banquet and entertainments at the Castle. The similarity of the descriptions throughout the century indicates something of the formality and conservativeness of all state sponsored commemorations during the 17th and 18th centuries for which the same limited range of displays were regularly employed.

Cressy (1989) records that in England, the lighting of bonfires and ringing of bells had been "harnessed to the needs of the state" as a means of announcing and controlling public celebrations on anniversaries and festive occasions throughout the 17th century. These in turn were local versions of a broad European practice by which public authorities celebrated a wide range of events which included royal anniversaries, religious festivals, military victories and civic commemorations. Such customs dominated the public ritual of city life for several centuries (Bergeron 1965, Cressy 1989, Darnton 1984, le Roy Ladurie 1972, Muir 1981, Rubin 1991). Sennett (1993) writes of the 17th and 18th century city as a theatre, the streets were a stage on which the individual publicly presented his self to a society of strangers. The celebrations were occasions for the display of wealth, grandeur and status of both individuals and institutions of the crown. The great and the good physically re-affirmed their collective control of the streets, of society, and with military

accompaniment visibly demonstrated the extent of their power. Habermas states that within the world of the ancien regime authority, power, status and virtue had to be formally publicised, that is given public representation "not for but 'before' the people" (1992 pp7-10). The hierarchy of power and authority, normally remote or concealed in the city, was thereby confirmed at the most immediate and democratic level, that of the street. It was confirmed unmediated, directly to whoever cared to watch. And on such occasions the crowds were usually substantial.

In its pomp and finery the procession portrayed an idealised representation of the civic and political order to the watching populace. The parades were often structured to mirror the formal hierarchies of rank and power and the whole aimed to demonstrate to spectators a unity of purpose and unchallengeable authority. The contrast between the elegance and finery of those processing and the dress of the spectators emphasised the unbridgeable social gulf between authority and the people, and further distanced the agents of the state from the mundanity of daily routine. In general such demonstrations "served not so much the pleasure of the participants as the demonstration of grandeur...the common people, content to look on, had the most fun" (Habermas 1992 p10). Excluded from formal participation, the role of the lower classes was to observe and bear witness to the dignity of their betters. Away from the procession and after the nobles retired indoors to enjoy their banquet in a more relaxed and private sphere, the public celebrations continued in a carnivalesque, and sometimes riotous, manner. People gathered around the numerous bonfires, eating and drinking, watching the fireworks and firing guns long into the night.

During the 18th century King William was celebrated by a range of interest groups who gave different meaning to his importance. From one perspective he could be used to stress

the victory for constitutional liberties won by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. While from another the weight was given to the military victories won over the Catholics, which helped secure the Protestant position in Ireland. In Dublin the government used the processions on November 4th to emphasise that the ideals of "civil and religious liberty" were equally a feature of Irish, as well as English, social and political life. William's accession signified for the Anglo-Irish elite in Dublin Castle a victory for freedom of speech, tolerance and parliamentary democracy over arbitrary and autocratic government. William was promoted as a symbol of constitutional government rather than as the military conqueror of Catholic Ireland. In this spirit it was appropriate to celebrate the King's birthday rather than to commemorate the victories of 1690 and 1691 and the defeat of the Irish. But while there was a sense in which William could be promoted as a non-sectarian national figure, his public meaning was constrained by other events of the ritual calendar. November 4th was bracketed by commemorative services, held throughout Ireland, on October 23rd, to mark the defeat of the 1641 rebellion, and on November 5th, to mark the anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (Barnard 1991). On both dates public figures walked in formal procession to church to hear sermons giving thanks for Protestant deliverance and warning of the continued threat of Catholicism. Many of these sermons were then published giving them wider circulation. Both anniversaries were also cause for widespread public celebrations. The two week period from the end of October to early November was therefore one of concentrated public commemoration and rejoicing that focused on the repeated Protestant deliverance from Catholic treachery. Sir John Temple's "The Irish Rebellion" which recounted the events of 1641 and likened the Irish Protestants to God's chosen people went through several editions in the 18th century, thus further consolidating this reading of history (Bartlett 1992). The

continuity of the memory of King William must be understood within this wider framework.

State processions continued through Dublin into the early nineteenth century, but it was increasingly difficult to control the exuberance of popular celebrations and the meaning of the memory of the victor of the Boyne. In the later 18th century William's memory increasingly became a divisive force and a focus for sectarian animosities, as political demands were made for greater social rights for Catholics (3). November 4th became the focus for the competing claims on William's memory: on one side by the representatives of the Crown and on the other the Volunteers who demanded greater power for Parliament. The Government steadily reduced its public involvement and concentrated on attempting to control the excesses that the day inspired. This gradual abandonment of Williamite anniversaries acknowledged the fact that it was impossible to neutralise William's memory. Dublin Castle turned to the still neutral figure of St Patrick as a symbol of national unity and promoted March 17th as a day for popular celebration (Hill 1984). By 1809 the Newsletter was pleased to report that the "silly mummery of dressing the statue...was discontinued" (7-11-1809) and in 1822 although flags were flown from Dublin Castle and church bells rung for the day no procession was held and armed guards were mounted around the statue to prevent its decoration (BNL 12-11-1822).

While the state tried to control the formal commemorations of the late King, popular celebrations to mark the anniversary of the battles themselves had long been established as parallel events. On July 1 1701 an equestrian statue of William III was unveiled in College Green, Dublin amidst great ceremony, and by the middle of the century parading had become an established feature of popular celebrations to mark the battles of 1690-1. During

this period a number of societies were formed to perpetuate the memory of the Williamite campaign, including the Boyne and Aughrim Societies in Dublin, the Patriot Club in Newtown, Co.Down, the Apprentice Boys Club in Londonderry and the True Blues, the Boyne, the Aughrim, the Culloden and the Enniskillen Societies in Cork. McClelland (nd) states that the Boyne Society and others such as the Aldermen of Skinners Alley (formed at the end of the 17th century), were largely composed of members of the aristocracy and landed gentry. However, Sir Jonah Barrington, a member of the Aldermen of Skinners Alley, recalls in his memoirs that the club had a broad membership which included "Generals and wigmakers - Kings counsel and hackney clerks etc". The Aldermen met on July 1st to wine and dine the memory of the King who secured the Glorious Revolution, rather than the military conqueror of Catholic Ireland (Barrington 1830, Hill 1984). While the Aldermen were content to maintain a private celebration, other societies were establishing a more public presence.

From 1740 (at least) the Boyne Society marched to St Catherine's church each July 1st and afterwards they paraded through Dublin, accompanied by music and the discharging of guns and pistols. The 1747 celebrations were described in the Dublin Courant as a "warlike parade" (30-6/4-7 1747). The Aughrim Society avoided the same military emphasis when they marched through Dublin on July 12th, accompanied "with proper Effigies, Musick, Drums etc. They had all Orange cockades and green Boughs in their Hats; and made a very decent Appearance" (Dublin Courant 14/17-7-1744). Although public celebrations were also held in Cork and Drogheda (4), in the north of Ireland the wealthier classes still preferred to mark the day in a more private manner: a visit to the theatre, a charity ball or a dinner were all popular forms of celebration (5). The exception was Londonderry, where the Siege of 1688-9 was publicly celebrated throughout the century. Initially the events

were organised by the Apprentice Boys Club but were later taken over by the town garrison. August 1st was marked by a procession to the Cathedral followed by the usual fireworks, feu-de-joie and a banquet in the Town Hall; in December Divine Service in the Cathedral was the centre of proceedings (Londonderry Journal 5-8-1772, ABOD 1989). Otherwise the first Williamite parade outside in Ulster was not reported until 1775 when, on July 12th, a "very respectable group of the Protestant Gentlemen of the town" of Tandragee, County Armagh, dined together and drank many "loyal and patriotic toasts", including King William, the Boyne, Aughrim, Oliver Cromwell and some 50 others. They then marched through the town "preceded by a band of music; with flags etc". The marchers wore orange cockades in their hats and orange ribbons on their breasts and the town Market house was decorated with an orange and blue flag bearing the motto "Protestant Interest". The report concludes that

the afternoon was spent in mirth, sociality and joy; with bonfires, firing of guns etc. The town was elegantly illuminated and had grand fire-works. The number of people assembled on the occasion was prodigious" (BNL July 18-21 1775).

All of these events seem to have been organised by, and on behalf of, the wealthy members of Protestant society. There is little evidence of the active participation of the lower classes at these events, although any public procession would be sure to attract a crowd, and the bonfires and fireworks in the evenings drew crowds whatever the occasion. But these popular celebrations only became newsworthy when the gunfire caused injuries or deaths (BNL 8-7-1768). However, Adams (1987 p70) records that John Mitchelburne's play about the Siege of Derry and Robert Ashton's on the battle of Aughrim, went through numerous popular publications during the century (6), and William Carleton recalls his involvement in the performance in rural barns of Tyrone around 1800 (Carleton 1968). The

battles of 1688-91 were therefore probably a focus for more widespread public celebration across 18th century Ireland.

These celebrations included many features that have remained the basis for Twelfth of July festivities until today. But these were not unique to the Williamite commemorations, as many other anniversaries were marked in a similar manner. Every three years the Dublin Trades Corporation and the 25 guilds of the city processed around the Liberties and Franchises that marked the boundaries of the Mayoral jurisdiction carrying the emblems of their patron saint, and with their colours and flags flying (Faulkners Dublin Journal 3/7-8-1731, Barrington 1803, Murphy 1988). The Freemasons marked St John's day, June 24th 1725, with a procession of some 100 brethren wearing "their Aprons, White Gloves and other parts of the Distinguishing Dress of that Worshipful Order" from the Yellow Lion at Warbrough-street to their Great Hall in Kings-Inns. Because of the rainy weather, however, they made the procession across the city in "Hackney Coaches", but on arrival, they re-assembled to make a "perambulation" of the hall before entering. The same day the journeyman Taylors, for whom St John was also patron, marched to St John's church for a sermon and "afterwards to the Walshes Head where they had a splendid entertainment" (Dublin Weekly Journal 26-6-1725). Freemason's parades were recorded in Coleraine and Cork in following years, the Taylors paraded in Dublin in 1726 and 1731 and the Shoemakers walked in Cork on August 1st 1732. On each occasion the processions were accompanied by musicians: in Cork these included kettledrums, trumpets and hautebois (Tait 1926, Walker 1926, Faulkners Dublin Journal 26-6-1726, 24/27-6-1731, 5/8-8-1732, Reilly's Dublin Newsletter 6-6-1741). The trade associations also paraded through the city on other anniversaries. On August 1st 1728 the taylor, draymen, chimney sweeps and the bricklayers and masons among others marched through Dublin to mark the

"Solemnization of the Proclamation Day of his late Majesty of Happy Memory". The bricklayers and masons paraded with a "King Solomon Figure at their Front and the Famous Temple finely adorn'd in Miniature, carried before him". They walked first to church and then to a public house,

where they stay'd 'till Evening, and then went in Procession off, with their Drums Beating, Musick Playing and Colours, in decent order, Delightful Enough to the Rabble who follow'd them 'till they Dispers'd in great Multitudes. (Dickson's Dublin Intelligence 3-8-1728).

In spite of numerous laws banning both combinations and public assemblies, they continued through much of the 18th century: "processions had long been dear to tradesmen who assumed much of the pageantry of the guilds", although they remain poorly documented (Boyle 1988 p41). Williamite commemorations were part of this extensive urban tradition of parading which was developed and maintained by a wide range of male fraternal bodies. All of the features that were to become a regular aspect of the Boyne celebrations had previously appeared as a part of either patron's day parades or state sponsored festivals. Eating and drinking was a common attraction of all public festivities, whether aimed at the nobility or the general public, but parading the streets in group formation, wearing some form of distinguishing dress and carrying flags or effigies was a central part of the day. All these parades drew heavily on the example and visual rhetoric of the state ceremonies. They were an opportunity to display the corporate dignity of the respective bodies and announce the public presence of otherwise private associations. Although many celebrations remained private events, increasingly diverse groups within society chose to emulate the state practice and took their celebrations out of the dining rooms and onto the streets. The parades drew attention to, or, more explicitly, publicised, the emerging presence of an organised middle and (sometimes artisanal rank of society,

who, while not breaking with the traditional norms and proprieties, were beginning to establish their own agenda. This corporate image still displayed itself in the language of the theatre, in the type of costumed performance that Sennett (1993) sees as a residue from the regimented social placings of the previous century. Within the context of the *ancien regime* such displays were still apolitical in so far as there was no formal oppositional political intention behind the early parades, although by mimicry of the state events they offered an oblique challenge and threat to the existing order (7). But having made their presence felt by public display through the streets of the city, they various associations settled down to an afternoon of wining and dining. However in the changing social, economic and political climate of the 18th century parades were soon to become the medium which gave visible form to the demands of the emerging Protestant middle classes in Ireland as they sought to translate their increasing wealth into political capital.

The growing middle classes are the most visible actors in this commemorative culture but, as with the example of the trade associations, there are suggestions that other voices were striving to be heard. However the lower classes remained largely invisible except when they became of interest through violence and disruption. Outside of the cities there is still less evidence of the popular ceremonial or political world of the peasantry. There are few indications that the lower classes participated in formal celebrations except as an audience, or that they were able to mobilise themselves as a political force. One exception was the Hearts of Oak, or the Oakboy movement of 1763. This was a mass protest of Protestant artisans, farmers and shopkeepers who objected to local tax increases. It erupted in north Armagh at the end of June and rapidly spread through adjacent counties before being subdued by the military in early August (Donnelly 1981).

While in many ways the Oakboys were part of the broader range of Whiteboy groups which flourished throughout Ireland at various times between 1760-1850 (Beames 1983), they also exhibited many differences. The Whiteboys were active at night while the Oakboys paraded in large numbers in broad daylight: up to 20,000 took to the roads in Armagh in mid-July; 10,000 assembled at Errigal on the Tyrone-Monaghan border on July 14th; and 10,000 met at Monaghan on July 20th; on another occasion, near Markethill

they fill'd at least two miles of the road and were formed into companies, with each (having) a standard, or colours, displayed; of which (companies) he says he counted thirty with drums, horns, fiddlers and bagpipes. (letter in the Cork Evening Post 11-7-1763, quoted by Donnelly).

This description is comparable to the early parades of the Orange Order which began in the same area and among a similar population of Protestant smallholder-weavers and artisans some thirty years later. The disturbances occurred in the period of the summer bounded by the rural holidays of St John's day and the Williamite anniversaries, and flourished in an "atmosphere of carnival". On July 8th, 500 Oakboys met the Rev Martin and his wife in their carriage in Cookstown, the Oakboys surrounded the couple waving their colours, cheering and playing music on horns and fiddles before firing several shots as they moved off (Donnelly 1981 pp 8-12). This carnival atmosphere disguised the true purpose of the Oakboy parades which was to confront specific members of the gentry and warn or intimidate them into agreeing not to demand the tax increases. While there is no suggestion that the Oakboy movement was linked to the Williamite anniversaries, the events do indicate that a rural experience of parading in a disciplined and quasi-military manner with flags and music predates the appearance of the Orange Order.

Parades seem to have been a widely used means of consolidating a public identity in 18th century Ireland, and an increasingly important feature of public life. While the state ceremonials were held in mid-autumn, popular parades were increasingly a summer activity. An incipient marching season was established in Ireland in the early 18th century, as Freemasons and artisanal associations regularly paraded between June or August. Out of the towns, St Johns eve (June 23), St Peters eve (June 28) and Lammas in early August were important days among the numerous pattens or patrons days on which people customarily assembled for festivities. Fair days and race meetings were other occasions on which a parade might form part of the activities, and in the expanding economy of this period fair days increased dramatically in number (Connolly 1982, Evans 1957, MacNeill 1962, Smyth 1992). Holding a parade to mark the Williamite victories seems less surprising within this wider context in which public gatherings were a widespread social activity in both rural and urban areas. A commemorative parade provided the opportunity for another day of revelry. But the July anniversaries also gave the Protestant population the opportunity for a celebration for themselves at a time of year when many of the other popular festivities, such as saint's days or pilgrimages to holy wells, were more clearly Catholic occasions. Even without being demonstrably anti-Catholic, the Williamite parades could help nurture a distinctive Protestant identity.

THE VOLUNTEERS

The 1770s marked the beginnings of a more widespread and systematic use of public display as the provincial gentry of the north of Ulster took to the streets for the first time to make a platform for more explicit demands for the "Protestant Interest". The 1770s and 1780s marked a rupture with the old tradition of social displays which emulated the state, and instigated a period in which the parade

became established as an instrument of political action.

In England the bourgeoisie had drawn on the constitutional ideals of the Glorious Revolution, on the victory of democracy over autocratic monarchy, to establish a formal opposition to the Crown through Parliament. But the Westminster Parliament, the instrument of democracy in England, was the very body the Irish bourgeoisie had to challenge if it was to establish its own autonomy. The rapid growth of formally organised clubs and brotherhoods, the debate around Wood's halfpence led by Dean Swift and the widespread use of public parades during the 1720s indicates something of the early expression of this growing confidence. But it was the appearance of the Patriot party in Parliament and the Volunteer movement on the streets which represented the formal appearance of this new power base and interest group.

The Irish Parliament in Dublin was dominated by landed interests, it was largely subservient to the wishes of England and was unable to legislate for itself. The head of state, the Lord Lieutenant, was a member of the British Cabinet, was appointed by London and was often absent from Ireland. Furthermore Irish exports and foreign trade and therefore her financial autonomy were heavily constricted by London. This situation was proving increasingly unacceptable to an ever larger portion of Irish Protestant society who, represented in Parliament by the Patriots, attempted to restore Ireland's political autonomy. The issue had been rumbling away since the 1720s and by the 1770s issues were coming to a head. It was also widely felt that the internal Roman Catholic threat had finally been laid to rest and many of the Penal Laws, introduced after the Williamite victories, were being abandoned, ignored or repealed. Some members of Parliament like Henry Grattan were beginning to talk of a common interest of all Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic (Boyce 1991).

It was in this environment that the Volunteer movement was founded. The leadership of the movement was comprised of the landed aristocracy, but the membership was drawn from the Protestant trading and professional middle classes, men with wealth but no formal power. The immediate concern and impetus of the Volunteers in the spring of 1778 was coastal raiding by American privateers and in the background the recurrent fear of a French invasion. The lack of British soldiers in Ireland and government funds to provide security led to the forming of locally based paramilitary Volunteer Companies. This had occurred on a small scale when Ulster faced Jacobite scares early in the century and feared French attacks in 1760 (Stewart 1993). But this time the Volunteers outlived the immediate concerns of security and developed into an extra parliamentary force in the cause of Ireland, adding their weight (and the threat of arms) to the voices of the Patriots in Parliament. Between 1779 and 1782 the combined forces of the Patriots in Parliament and the Volunteers on the streets, forced through their demands: to have the same trading rights as England, to restore legislative independence to the Irish Houses of Parliament and give the final legal jurisdiction of the Irish House of Lords. The constitution of 1782 and "Grattan's Parliament" established some degree of autonomy for Ireland and achieved many of the Patriot party's demands (Bardon 1992, Smyth 1992). Some Volunteer Companies pressed for more extensive reforms, including a reform of Parliament, further repeal of the Penal Laws and the reintroduction of Catholics to the public life of Ireland (at least one volunteer company in Dundalk claimed to have admitted Roman Catholic members by August 1780 [Rogers 1934]). These demands proved too radical for the broad alliance that the movement had become, many of the more conservative members were content with the already secured reforms and as the alliance disintegrated the power and influence of the Volunteers declined (Smyth 1979).

While the reforms were won in Parliament, the Volunteers were ever present on the streets to push forward the cause and to provide a reminder of what might happen should debate prove insufficient. They represented "the first successful example of the bringing of the gun into Irish politics" (Smyth 1979 p 136). They also confirmed the importance of the parade and extended the use of visual display as an integral part of the political process. The formation of the first Volunteer companies in 1778 marks the beginnings of the break with the *ancien regime* ceremonials which drew their lead from the aristocracy in Dublin. This period sees a new development in the culture of parading, in which ceremonial, commemoration and political demands become inseparably entwined.

The first Volunteer Company was formed in Belfast on March 17 1778, and, following the capture of a British sloop of war by an American vessel off Belfast in April, the movement grew rapidly. There was no shortage of volunteers: by the middle of 1780 an estimated 60,000 men had enrolled and by 1782 more than 300 companies had been raised in Ulster alone (Rogers 1934, Smyth 1974). Parading immediately became a prominent feature of Volunteer activities. In Cork (which had a large Protestant population) there was a grand procession to church on April 13th at which the Mayor and other civic dignitaries were accompanied by 300 members of the Cork Union, the Boyne, the True Blue, the Aughrim and Culloden Societies all dressed in distinct uniforms (BNL 17/21-4-1778). But it was in Ulster that parading was taken up with the most enthusiasm as a popular, respectable and a reportable activity. Most parades involved some form of military display and many reports emphasise the large numbers of people that attended as spectators, the colour of the spectacle and smartness of the men on parade. In 1778 Belfast Volunteers paraded to church on May 28th, on June 4th to mark the King's birthday, again on June 21st, on

July 1st to mark the Boyne, on August 1st to mark the Hanoverian succession and on November 4th (BNL 26/30-5, 2/5-6, 22/26-6, 30-6/3-7, 31-7/4-8 3/6-11 1778). The following year the Boyne was celebrated by parades in Belfast, Cork, Lisburn, Londonderry, Mitchelstown, Newtownards and Waterford (8), but the high point of the parading year was November 4th. Volunteers marched in Belfast, Castlewellan, Comber, Dundonald, Dungannon, Dunmurray, Echinville, Lisburn, Portadown, Portaferry and Rathfriland, as well as in Dublin, to mark William's birthday (BNL 5/9-11-1779) (9).

In 1780 the Volunteer Companies began to hold a series of large scale general reviews over the summer months at venues across Ulster. The Belfast review on July 13 and 14 attracted 2,788 Volunteers (and numerous spectators) from all areas of Counties Armagh, Antrim and Down (BNL 6/10-7-1787). The first day was devoted to their exercises and on the second a mock battle was fought. From February 1782 the military reviews were balanced by an annual convention in Dungannon, Co Tyrone. Here the political demands of the movement were debated and formulated by delegates from many of the companies.

These parades and the reviews kept the Volunteers constantly in the public eye, they were a recurrent public display of strength of the middle ranks of society, they were an expression of the weight of public opinion and also a key part of the democracy of the movement. These regular public events also helped to extend connections between the ranks of Protestant society and furthered the dissemination and debate of ideas (Craig 1948 p 180). But the Volunteers were always a heterogeneous mixture of interests, and while Belfast members were willing to support more radical ideas those in the rural areas of County Armagh and County Londonderry were more cautious, this diversity ultimately led to the collapse of the movement (Stewart 1989).

Something of this variety can be seen from the range of anniversaries that were celebrated and the icons and symbols offered for public display. Although the summer reviews were held near the anniversaries of the Boyne and Aughrim, there was little public acknowledgement of the Williamite battles after the initial displays of 1778 and 1779. This lack of enthusiasm was formalised in Carrickfergus in 1787 when

it was unanimously resolved, in future, not to commemorate as formerly, any day that directly tends to keep up the remembrance of the Civil Wars of Ireland. It is nearly a century since they ceased and full time to forget them (BNL 3/7-8-1787).

Support for this brave new world was mixed. In Derry the centenary of the Siege was marked with extensive parades and celebrations in December and August (Graham 1829, Macrory 1980, ABOD 1989), but the Boyne centenary was only publicly commemorated in Drogheda; although dinners were held in Doagh and Downpatrick to honour the constitutional victory, otherwise the anniversary was ignored (BNL 9/13-7-1790, Walker 1992). Instead the Volunteers celebrated William's birthday on November 4th. This refocused attention on his importance as a constitutional, rather than a military, figure and so emphasised the historical legitimacy of the cause.

Besides providing an opportunity to display their strength, the parades also allowed the Volunteers to display and express their political ideals in public (10). In Dublin the Volunteers paraded to William's statue on the morning of November 4th and departed before the Lord Lieutenant's procession arrived, but they left the statue decorated with political slogans and demands. In 1779 these demanded "Short Money Bills, a Free Trade or Else!" and "Relief to Ireland" but also supported "The Glorious Revolution" (BNL 5/9-11-1779), in 1783 they called for "An equal representation of the people" (BNL 7/10-11-1783) and in

1785 the banners stated "The volunteers of Ireland will support the Trade and Constitution or perish in the ruins" and "Reject the English Propositions or Else" (BNL 8/11-11-1785). Besides these immediate political demands the Volunteers also publicised themselves through a range of symbols. Some of these appeared for the first time at these parades but have subsequently become central to the diversity of Irish political culture. The material culture of the Volunteers expresses something of the range of ideas and opinions within this heterogeneous organisation. They were able to display a variety of images and symbols within a single framework which in later years would come to be seen as essentially polarised and juxtaposed as either explicitly unionist or nationalist.

At this time it was still possible to be loyal to the ideals of the "Glorious Revolution" and consider oneself an Irishman. It was within this ideological framework that William III remained an important figure for the Volunteers. Flags and banners appear for the first time as devices for displaying more than a simple military identity. Marching to William's statue in 1779, the Dublin Volunteers carried a blue flag with the Dublin arms in a shamrock wreath and a crimson flag with the Leinster arms - an Irish harp; the Merchants Regiment carried an orange flag with the arms of Ireland and a figure of Liberty; the Liberty Rangers an orange and blue flag and the Goldsmiths Regiment a cream flag with the "Irish arms imperially crowned" (BNL 5/9-11-1779). Hayes-McCoy (1979) describes a number of surviving Volunteer flags: those of the Loyal Ballyshannon Volunteers, the Caledon Volunteers, County Carlow Legion and Castleray Fencibles all bear representations of Hibernia resting on an Irish harp; the 1st Armagh Volunteers flag depicts a sunburst through clouds and a harp surmounted by a crown and wreathed in shamrocks; the flag of the Ballymena Volunteers has a harp and the cipher of King William and that of the Killeavy

Volunteers a portrait of William and the mottoes "Our King and Country" and "Williams Great Cause".

The harp, the shamrock and references to King William were specifically Irish symbols, but other features of the iconography were drawn from a range of sources. The feminised representation of Ireland was common in gaelic traditions, while Ireland had been represented as Hibernia, dressed in a toga, crowned with laurel and oak leaves and bearing a Phrygian cap from William's time and was used as a counterpoint to Britannia. Hibernia was also similar to representations of Liberty that appeared in revolutionary France (Agulhon 1981, O'Cuiv 1978, Warner 1985). The sunburst was a Freemason's symbol, representing knowledge and enlightenment and, as such, was widely known in western Europe in the 18th century. The Volunteer movement can therefore also be seen as part of the Irish expression of a more widespread challenge to the established social order. One that drew on both internationalist ideals (parliamentary democracy, liberty) and local customs (parades) as their means of converting and sustaining public opinion. In 1791 and 1792, at what was to prove to be the last displays of the radical rump of the Volunteer movement, this international solidarity was prominently displayed in Belfast on Bastille Day. In 1791 portraits of Benjamin Franklin and Mirabeau were carried besides slogans denouncing the slave trade (Stewart 1993). The following year they carried the flags of "the five free nations", Ireland, America, France, Poland and Great Britain and also displayed

the Great Standard, elevated on a triumphal car, drawn by four horses with two volunteers as supporters, containing on one side a of the canvas a representation of "the Releasement of the Prisoners from the Bastille" motto Sacred to Liberty. The reverse contained a figure of Hibernia, one hand and foot in shackles, a volunteer presenting to her a figure of Liberty, motto "for a people to be FREE, it is sufficient that they WILL IT".

The parade, through the town to the Falls review grounds and back in the afternoon, involved some 800 Volunteers and 180 people followed at the rear carrying a green flag (Joy and Bruce 1792-3). By 1793, when the Volunteers were disbanded, public parades with music and decorative flags and banners had been transformed into an established feature of political life of the north of Ireland. Although the Volunteers had maintained the memory of King William, it was his role in the "Glorious Revolution" rather than his military conquests that remained important. Attention was focused on the aspiration for a unified, national identity rather than evoking memories of difference and exclusion which were to dominate the public stage in the next few years.

If many of the constituent features of parading politics had appeared by the end of the 18th century, it is by no means clear that they had been adopted as a feature of popular commemoration and custom. During the Volunteer period they remained largely within the patterns and aspirations of bourgeois life. The transformation of social practice to establish parades and public display as a regular feature of popular culture and politics was to occur in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Although the Volunteers were formerly brought to an end in 1793, their legacy was immense. They had always been a diverse body of opinion and as the movement fragmented this varied membership was important in continuing the radical tradition, through the United Irishmen and also consolidating the conservative forces of society, through the Orange Order.

PART ONE, CHAPTER 3.
RIOTOUS ASSEMBLIES, 1795-1869.

While the Volunteers were celebrating the success of the French Revolution in Belfast, Dublin and Londonderry, in rural Armagh Protestant and Catholic peasant bands, known as Peep o' Day Boys and Defenders, had been fighting and raiding each other regularly since 1784. These clashes culminated in the Battle of the Diamond, near Loughgall, in September 1795 (Miller 1983, 1990). In part these were a continuation of the agrarian protests that had erupted across Ireland since the Whiteboys had first appeared in 1761. But they also introduced a new sectarian dimension which initially was specific to the proto-industrial, social and economic conditions of County Armagh. This sectarianism was compounded by the heightened political tensions that were produced by the raised profile of the Catholic and national questions in the wider political arena since the 1780s (Beames 1983; Gibbon 1975; Smyth 1992). The "battle" would probably not have been significant had not some of the Protestant victors met afterwards to create a more structured organisation to counter the Defenders. This society was to become the Orange Institution. The Orange Order, as it is commonly known, received support from sections of the rural gentry and middle classes and spread rapidly across southern Ulster, although local groups remained largely independent of centralised control until the second half of the century.

ORANGE PARADES AND DISPLAYS.

Since the establishment of the Volunteers there had been only occasional reports of public celebrations of the Williamite victories, but in 1796, less than a year after the formation of the Orange Order, it was reported that 2,000 men spent July 12th parading from Portadown, Loughgall, and Richhill to the demesne of Lord Gosford. They arrived, he reported the next day to Lord Camden, the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin, at

about five o'clock in the evening marching in regular files by two with orange cockades, unarmed, and by companies which were distinguished by numbers upon their flags. The party had one drum and each company had a fife or two in front with painted wands in their hands who acted as commander...The devices on the flags were chiefly portraits of King William with mottoes alluding to his establishment of the Protestant religion, and on the reverse side some of them I perceived a portrait of his present Majesty with the crown placed before him, motto God save the King...They were perfectly quiet and sober...each company...saluted me by lowering their flags (published in Crawford and Trainer eds. 1969).

Lord Gosford, who had otherwise been antagonistic to the Orangemen, suggests that the day was peaceful and orderly, but the Newsletter notes that in the afternoon following "words" between one Mr M'Murdie and a member of the Queens County Militia, M'Murdie "received a stab of which he died" (BNL 15-7-1796) (1). The following year 12,000 are claimed to have paraded in Lurgan, 6,000 to 7,000 people, wearing orange or blue cockades and including "numerous groups of girls", paraded in Belfast carrying flags depicting King William on horseback. Both parades were reviewed by General Lake, attended by the Belfast Yeomanry Cavalry. However, in Stewartstown, County Tyrone, an "affray" between Orangemen and members of County Kerry Militia left 14 people dead and many wounded (BNL 14-7, 17-7-1797).

These first parades established much of the procedure that would become the norm for Orange commemorations for the next few decades. The parades were tolerated, if not overtly encouraged, by the gentry, vilified by liberals and by the Whig press, but was able to appear as a peaceable rural custom until a flash point produced an eruption of violence. Unfortunately the violent incident was soon to be considered as an expected feature of the parades rather than an aberration. Although it is unclear how much continuity there was between the Volunteers and the Orangemen, these early Orange parades owe much to the practices of the Volunteer movement. They adopted the militaristic format and paraded in companies, they bore expensive flags decorated with the image of King William and were reviewed by the local aristocracy or military commanders. But they also drew on the more ephemeral tradition of the agrarian bands who had similarly marched to music in a military manner, appointed officers and identified themselves with white cockades or sprigs of oak (Beames 1983, Donnelly 1981).

Orangeism remained strongest in the rural areas (2). In Armagh, Down and Tyrone parades were widespread and sometimes attracted large crowds, 7,000 were reported at Lurgan in 1815 and 20,000 at Waringstown the following year (3). Newspaper reports suggest that although the Twelfth was widely celebrated, most parades were small scale affairs which passed off without much disturbance. Occasionally we get a fuller picture of the growing local importance of the day from the scale of the decorations and preparations. In 1812 Dr John Gamble described Tandragee as "a perfect orange grove" and noted the "lofty arch, which was thrown across the entire street", in which "orange was gracefully blended with oak leaves, laurels and roses" and bits of "gilded paper" were interwoven with the flowers. The doors and windows of the houses were also decorated with "garlands of the orange lily". He also remarks on the

number of banners, all decorated with King William "grim as a saracen on a sign post" and which were "more remarkable for loyalty than taste or variety" (McClelland 1980). In 1815, in Lurgan the BNL (July 18) reports:

the morning being fine, was ushered in by the ringing of bells, discharges of small arms and the display of four Orange flags from the top of the steeple of our church here. After having proceeded to erect a statue of King William on horseback, which they had previously prepared, and erecting several beautiful arches in the streets, the (7,000) Orangemen...marched in orderly procession...with a display of 120 beautiful flags.

In 1822 Dr Thomas Reid describes the scene at Caledon, County Tyrone on July 12th:

the way was strewn with Orange lilies, and at particular places was thrown over it triumphal arches, decorated with orange festoons, and garlands innumerable. The scene was quite delightful, and reminded me of the fabled stories of fairyland I had read at school (Reid 1823 p189).

The triumphal arch originated in ancient Rome as a device to honour victorious military leaders. Persons passing under the arch supposedly shared in the virtues and qualities which decorated it (Saxl and Wittkower 1948). In 16th and 17th century England arches were used extensively in royal pageantry, elaborate designs incorporating floral decorations were erected across principal streets to mark royal visits and coronations (Bergeron 1971). They remained a popular form of welcome into the 19th century: one was erected in Bristol in 1816 to mark the visit of the Duke of Wellington and they were erected by Friendly Societies and similar bodies (Gosden 1961). The earliest reference to such an arch in Ireland dates from 1790 when the Bishopgate in the Londonderry city walls was rebuilt as a replica of a triumphal arch in honour of King William. In 1795 Ferryquay Gate and, in 1810, Butcher's Gate were also remodelled in a similar style (Miller 1989). These were solid stone-built, permanent affairs, in contrast to the

ephemeral floral Orange arches, but this is presumably the inspiration for the triumphal arch on Orange parades.

However there is another set of values and meanings surrounding the arch. It is important for the Loyal Orders as a symbol of God's protection and it also signifies the strength in unity of a brotherhood. The arch appears in the regalia of numerous structurally similar organisations such as the Freemasons and Friendly Societies (Buckley and Anderson 1988). For Freemasons it signifies the "arch of heaven": all surviving 19th century masonic banners contain the arch as the central, dominant symbol (Lepper and Crossle 1925; Simpson 1924, 1926). A similar design appears on an early Orange chart of 1798 which is now in Armagh County Museum, besides numerous other symbols common to the Freemasons. It is within this tradition of meaning, of fraternal solidarity and strength through unity, that floral arches were erected by Friendly Societies on their parade days in the early 19th century, where the concept of a triumphal arch would not be appropriate. However, all the 19th century reports regarded the floral arches as symbolic of Protestant triumphalism, and it was in this manner that they generated public reaction.

By the 1820s the element of display and decoration had increased substantially from earlier customs (4). Although arches were still little more than bunches of orange lilies, purple rockets and some evergreen suspended from a cord spanning a principal road, they were powerful symbolic displays. Some were more elaborate: in August 1828 two arches were erected in Enniskillen for the anniversary of the Battle of Newtownbutler; one was decorated with "God save the King" and references to William III, George IV and the Enniskillin Regiment, and the other bore the slogan "Wellington, Peel and the Present Administration" (BNL 19-8-1828). This is the first report of political slogans appearing on an arch. Instead of the displays being

contained within a moving body of men they were now an extension of the public architecture. As such this marks the beginnings of the visible sectarianisation of space. Although the earliest descriptions quoted above suggest scenes of arcadian pleasure, of villages and towns gaily decorated with flowers, the idea of the "triumphal" arch points to the darker background of conflict and to a vanquished population as well as to the victors. In Dromore the "Grand Arch" was affixed to the house of a publican and spanned the "road leading to Dublin; under which every coach (and) cart...was obliged to pass" (NW 20-7-1826). These were acknowledged as expressions of Orange triumphalism, their location forced recognition of that claim and thereby often provoked resentment. In 1829 two arches in Newry, decorated with orange ribbons and "surmounted with a likeness of King William on horseback" were taken down by the police, while at Maghera riots broke out as Catholics attempted to remove an arch (BNL 17-7-1829). Although arches continued to provoke opposition, they had become a firmly established part of the celebrations.

DESCENT INTO VIOLENCE - RIBBONMEN AND FREEMASONS.

After the violence at the parades in the 1790s, when political expectation and tension were high, the Twelfth had remained largely peaceful. The Orange Order was discussed at Westminster after trouble in 1813, but it was argued that it was better to ignore the problem and allow it to fade away (BNL 16-7-1813). But further clashes between Orangemen and Ribbonmen at Kilrea in 1818 marked the beginning of a new phase of violence and the first indications of a more serious campaign to control the parades. Reporting the violence that left 3 people seriously wounded, the Newsletter (21-7-1818) concluded

The disposition of the lower orders of Irishmen to get into party associations has long been the subject of

serious concern to the truly and constitutionally loyal.

Concern increased as violent disturbances or riots followed Orange parades at Middletown and Killyleagh in 1822 and 1823 and Belfast, Donaghadee, Downpatrick, Dromore and Newry in 1824 (BNL 30-7-1822, 15-7-1823, NW 15-7-1824), at Ribbonmen assemblies at Crebilly in June 1819, Maghera in 1823, Castlewellan and Ballygawley in the following year (BNL 9-7-1819, 17-6-1823, 23-3, 20-7-1824) and after a Masonic parade at Drum Co. Monaghan in June 1823 (BNL 15-7-1823).

The legacy of the Volunteers, of Freemasonry, of the United Irishmen, the Defenders and of radical Presbyterians, of popular involvement with political activity and debate, had left its mark in Ulster. This was especially true of the area of the Linen Triangle, from east Tyrone, Armagh and Down through to south Antrim. This was the area where fraternal organisations had been, and remained, strongest. It was an area with numerous book clubs and reading clubs and it had the highest literacy rates in Ireland (Adams 1987, Hewitt 1951). Daniel O'Connell's unsuccessful campaign for Catholic Emancipation coincided with an increase in popular display of political identity in the years after 1810. It was around this time that the name Ribbonmen first began to appear in news reports. The early reports link the Ribbonmen to acts of violence. These have been used to place them within either the agrarian Whiteboy movement or situate them within the non-political and non-sectarian tradition of "faction fighting", a form of recreational violence that was carried on between feuding peasant groups and which regularly disrupted fairs, patterns, cock fights and similar sporting and social gatherings (Beames 1983, Connolly 1982, MacLysaght 1950, O'Donnell 1975). But Garvin (1981, 1987) argues that they were effectively the heirs to the Defenderist tradition of rural Catholic radicalism. He claims that they espoused a

vague nationalist political rhetoric, which was largely concealed by the secretive, undocumented structure of Ribbon organisation. Ribbonmen came from a wide range of social backgrounds but the farming, trading and artisanal ranks of Catholic society were prominent in leadership positions. Garvin argues that this was part of a strategy by the trading classes to lead and direct local defence groups and unite them into a widespread and coherent political body (5).

The early Ribbon violence occurred at open social occasions, at fairs, races and after Orange or Masonic parades, but the Ribbonmen were also prominent in establishing funeral processions as a suitable event for public displays of strength (Garvin 1981) and at claiming St Patrick's day as a popular and specifically Catholic event (6). There is no record of when the earliest St Patricks day parades were held, but in 1822 The Irishman reported that "there has been an immemorial practice of walking in procession on the anniversary of St Patrick" and the previous year 20,000 people had paraded (22-3-1822). At a meeting of the Catholic Association the following year, O'Connell noted that although Ribbonmen throughout the north usually paraded on St Patrick's day, this year they had agreed not to (BNL 24-6-1823). From the 1820s St Patrick's parades were regularly held in Castledawson, Downpatrick, Newry, Toome and in the Glens of Antrim, and smaller celebrations were recorded in Belfast. The Ribbonmen appeared in "regular marching order, with a drum and fife" wearing white and green colours and "sashes corresponding with their head dresses" and they paraded "with colours flying and music playing" (BNL 19-3-1824, 21-3-1826). Usually the news items only refer to the "usual insignia" (the same is said for Orange and Masonic flags at this time as well) and not until 1847 does a report from Seaforde, Co Down, mention more: "flags, inscribed with mottoes and devices... several having the portrait of St

Patrick" (NW 20-3-1847). St Patrick was becoming co-opted and sectarianised in the early 19th century as a Catholic and Irish saint, in the same way as King William was redefined as a Protestant hero, by being adopted as the patron of one section of the lower classes of a society, which was increasingly divided in its loyalties and aspirations.

Freemasonry was established in Ireland in the early 18th century and a Grand Lodge founded in Dublin in 1725, although it struggled to exert central control over local lodges until the second half of the 19th century (Stevenson 1990). The regular and widespread occurrence of oath-bound secret societies in rural areas from the 1760s is probably due to Masonic inspiration. Ulster was a fertile ground from the beginning, but it experienced a rapid growth in lodges in the 1770s and 80s and again in the early 19th century, in the rural areas of Ulster unofficial lodges or "hedge-masons" remained a strong tradition (Beatty 1933) (7). Freemasonry was a varied and heterogeneous organisation and was able to accommodate men from a range of classes, from all religions and diverse political opinions. It was important in bringing together a socially diverse range of individuals, of stimulating debate and developing radical ideas and encouraging self-help education and literacy. The membership of lodges varied according to the local situation. In the towns individual lodges were often drawn from specific occupations or social groups, but in the rural areas a single lodge might include gentlemen, farmers, weavers and artisans (Beatty 1933, Crossle 1909, Johnston 1977, Leighton 1938). This was the same social background as the other similar fraternities but without a formalised sectarian separation because, in spite of Papal edicts in 1738, 1751, 1821 and 1825 which forbade Roman Catholics from becoming Freemasons, throughout the 18th century Catholics comprised a large proportion of the membership Smyth 1993). It is not clear

how many individual lodges were of mixed faith, but a number in Ulster seem to have had both Catholic and Protestant members and members of mixed lodges went to church together on St John's day, June 24 (Grange 1980). But in the early 19th century political climate of Ulster it was difficult to avoid identification as either Protestant or Catholic, individually and collectively, and this may help to explain why we find reports of Masons clashing with Orangemen, with Defenders and later with Ribbonmen (Smith 1993, de Vere White 1973). But rather than disappearing with the growth of sectarian politics, Masonic lodges had their most dramatic expansion in the period between 1800-20, and the area which witnessed the most growth was the region of Ulster that also sustained the Orangemen and the Ribbonmen (Crossle 1973).

Many of the founder members of the Orange Order were Freemasons and it is readily accepted that both Orangeism and Ribbonism owed much of their symbolism, structure and organisational practices to Freemasonry (Dewar, Brown and Long 1968) (8). We should add to this list the importance of the masonic tradition of holding both commemorative and funeral parades. Parades on St John's day were reported from the 1720s onwards, but in Ulster masonic parades took off in parallel with the Volunteer practice. At the first Masonic parade in Belfast in 1781, the

Master, Wardens and Brethren of the Orange Lodge Number 257 of this town together with many of the gentlemen of the Old True Blue Lodge, headed by the Mayor and Corporation amounting to about 80 gentlemen, preceded by a fine Band of Musick...the whole procession consisting of 200 Free Masons marched to church in due form (BNL 26/29-6-1781).

From the 1780s onwards parades were regularly held in Belfast and in numerous towns in Counties Antrim, Armagh and Down. Funerals were important events for masonic lodges in the 19th century, with some lodges averaging more than one funeral parade every year (Simpson 1926). Early 19th

century reports of Masonic parades were often carried in the form of Notices of Thanks (to whoever gave the church sermon) which were inserted in the Belfast Newsletter, but note the location and the lodges attending but little else. However, the numbers suggest that they were at least as widespread if not more numerous than Orange parades, although Freemasons attracted little of the notoriety or opposition that the Orangemen incurred. The conservative Newsletter, the Northern Whig and the short lived, radical, Irishman all excluded criticism of the Freemason's parades when they attacked or opposed this increasingly widespread and confrontational practice (BNL 28-6-1825, NW 8-7-1824, Irishman 25-6-1819). In 1824 the Dublin based Grand Lodge of Ireland tried to ban St John's day parades, but as the official historian puts it

The procession on St John's day were immensely popular with the Craft, particularly in the North of Ireland and the Grand Lodge encountered a good deal of opposition when it had to prohibit them (Parkinson 1957 p 57).

In fact the order was totally ignored and was rescinded within 6 months. The following year 28 Masonic lodges paraded in Belfast and "an immense crowd witnessed the striking spectacle and the utmost order was preserved" (BNL 28-6-1825). In 1836 all public processions of Freemasons were once more banned by the Grand Lodge, with the threat of expulsion for those ignoring it, but in the north the ban was widely ignored (however it was never withdrawn). Although many lodges suffered repeated suspension or discipline, the St John's day parades remained a regular feature of rural Ulster life until the 1870s (Beatty 1933, Grange 1980, Simpson 1924, 1926).

From the 1820s parades held by these three groupings increased dramatically in number across Ulster. They were held in a wider range of locations and on a greater number of occasions. They involved an ever larger number of

individuals and they regularly erupted into violence. The failure to achieve a Parliamentary solution for the desire for Catholic emancipation and the fear of its possible effects was raising tension and frustration in many areas. Although most attention has focused on the polarisation of the sectarian divide, the strength of the Masonic tradition suggests that many Irishmen were still prepared to reject both camps and preferred to follow a non-sectarian path.

The increasing violence attracted the attention of the social elite and louder calls for action. The Northern Whig described Orangeism as the "well-head from which these evils spring" (NW 8-7-1824) and continues

we cannot but lament how fallen is the colour, how degraded is the cause, when these 'canaille' who shout loyalty, and show their rags, annually, are permitted to prostitute both, by their drunken squabbles, and attacks on the peace of society. King William would have been the last man...who would have countenanced the proceedings of such a body, as the Orangemen. He fought to secure toleration not to establish persecution

In June 1824 the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland tried to cancel the parades but their attempts had little effect. The Erne Packet of Enniskillen (15-7-1824) reported the local parade and noted that

similar proceedings took place in other parts of the county although in direct opposition to the advice of gentlemen of rank and responsibility and in almost every town and village as well as in this triumphal arches were erected cross the streets.

Neither an Act of Parliament nor the voluntary dissolution of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland in 1825 could stop the parades or the decorative displays. Neither the government, nor local law enforcement bodies, nor the Orange establishment could control the popular celebrations and displays of faith. Remarking on the Twelfth of July parades in 1827, the Northern Whig (19-7) states that "scarcely a town or village in the North of Ireland can boast

of...obedience to common sense, and the laws of the land". There were no Twelfth demonstrations in Belfast in 1828 in deference to the wishes of the local authorities, but parades were held in 17 locations. In Dungannon there were 170 lodges and "several Protestant Gentlemen of Rank", in Kilmore "thousands" assembled, in Armagh 30,000, at Rathfriland 4-5,000, Lurgan 50-60,000, Monaghan 6,000 and Ballibay 11,000. Each of these events was a locally organised affair, but they all followed a similar pattern: people began to assemble early in the morning, as early as 3 or 4 o'clock according to some reports. They raised flags on the church tower and elsewhere and erected decorations through the town, they rang the church bells and fired volleys of shots to greet the day. Later the parade was accompanied by music and banners, often a church service or a sermon was given in the open before the day ended with food and drink. The parade itself might be a short walk or it might involve a round trip of up to 30 miles (McNeilly 1965). Sometimes a number of parading groups would meet at the grounds of the local gentry and often the upper classes would give their support in some way.

Both St Patrick's day and St John's day were well supported throughout the 1820s and 30s, but the Orangemen were the most enthusiastic walkers. During this period the Orangemen began to parade on a wider range of anniversaries. Public commemorations of the battle of Newtownbutler and the raising of the siege of Derry began to be held in a broad range of locations during the 1820s (9), and parades were held on St Peter's Eve and on November 4th and in August to honour the King's birthday (BNL 4-7-1823, 24-8-1824, 19-8-1828, 22-8-1828, 10-11-1829). There are also the first reports of "sham fights", friendly re-creations of the battle of the Boyne which drew on both the faction fighting tradition and also the Volunteer practice of holding mock battles at their summer military reviews. Sham fights were held on the July 13th, the day after the main parade, as

the Scarva sham fight is today. A fight was recorded at Aughnaveagh, outside Newry in 1824 and other events reported at Divernagh, Scarva and Lurgan from 1825 (Irishman 23-7-1824, BNL 19-7-1825, 14-7-1836, 13-7-1847, NW 19-7-1838, 15-7-1847). As with the parades, real violence often followed the sham fight as the participants returned home having spent the day "inhaling copious libations of 'mountain dew'". As a result the fights were often subject to banning orders which seem to have been more successfully imposed than restraints on the parades. In 1836 the 5,000 people who had assembled at Scarva were dispersed by the military who themselves had "collected there in great force with 6 pieces of artillery" (Day and McWilliams 1990 p 5).

In 1829 the Grand Master of the Orange Order again attempted to cancel the parades, but they went ahead in over 30 locations. There were riots at Armagh, Bellaghy, Comber, Greyabbey, Maghera and Portadown. At Strabane three people were wounded. At Stewartstown one person died, at Clones seven were killed and at Enniskillen eight were left dead or seriously wounded. The following year the Lord Lieutenant banned processions and an editorial in the Newsletter supported the ban, claiming the parades "have now in great measure lost their utility" (BNL 9-7-1830). In 1832 the Party Processions Act prohibiting all parades was passed and a Select Committee of the House of Commons was set up "to inquire into The Nature, Character, Extent and Tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies In Ireland". Its report (1835) shows, from police reports, that although many parades were still held, they were much smaller than a few years earlier and they largely remained peaceful (10). The Act expired in 1845 and it was not renewed; on July 3rd the following year the Newsletter exclaimed optimistically:

In these days of education and enlightenment,
Protestantism and Loyalty have discovered better modes

of asserting themselves, than by wearing sashes and walking to the music of fifes and drums.

However the newly restored legality of parading encouraged an even wider range of organisations onto the streets than normal and a profusion of display. When the Freemasons marched through Ballynafeigh decorated in their Masonic insignia and accompanied by fifes and drums, the Newsletter wrote:

We understand that the working people attached to the order conducted themselves throughout the holiday with exemplary decorum (BNL 26-6-1846).

In 1848 a procession of 2,000 to 3,000 "Thrashers or Repealers" organised in 62 lodges, who were led through Downpatrick by music and banners, were praised as:

sober, orderly, well-dressed people, many of them wearing sashes and other insignia of the order (BNL 21-3-1848).

Later that year 800 members of the Belfast Teetotal Societies, including the Independent Tent of Rechabites, Dr Spratt's Teetotalers and Father Mathews Benevolent Society paraded through the city with their bands and banners (BNL 18-8-1848). But as usual it was the Orangemen who had most parades and the most elaborate displays. In Comber and Ballymena "several beautiful arches were erected", in Seaforde arches were decorated with "orange lilies and purple rockets", in Dungannon there were "many new flags", in Tandragee 150 flags were paraded and in Belfast, Sandy Row lodge No 247 had "a very handsome flag" composed of needlework on purple velvet, with a crown and sceptre on one side and King William crossing the Boyne on the reverse (BNL 14-7-1846). In 1848 in Belfast the Newsletter waxed lyrically (BNL 13-7):

the banners were of the most costly fabric and the most elegant design and as they floated in the morning breeze they presented a spectacle of great beauty and splendour.

In Newry there were 14 lodges "each...having...its own distinctive flag, bearing the customary devices" and in the front of the parade an orange and purple banner with the inscriptions "Queen and Constitution" and "No Repeal and No Surrender" set around a Bible and Crown (NW 13-7-1848). Similar sentiments were expressed on banners in Magheralin and an arch in Lisburn. In Loughgall "the eve and night proceeding were occupied in constructing floral arches at different cross roads in the vicinity", in Enniskillen 12 arches were erected, in Ballymena 8 or 9, in Antrim the arch bore "the Royal Crown and the initials VR" and in Lurgan five flags flew from the church tower (BNL 13-7). The next year the banners were again widely noted and admired, and the arches were even more extensive, and even more elaborate. In Lisburn a triple arch spanned both the cartway and the footpaths at either side and included a crown as the centrepiece and "a miniature equestrian King William - in alabaster" (NW 14-7-1849). In Cavan, the arch erected at the entrance to the field was decorated in orange and purple flowers and contained "a splendid print of the great and good King William", while at Moneymore there were two arches "one of a most rare description, in the Gothic order". Although the displays were prominent and extensive they were also conservative: the few banners designs that are described, King William, the Crown and Bible, the monarch, had been used since the earliest parades of the Institution. Similarly the arches are of increasing technical complexity but familiar design. These only begin to change at the end of the century.

In July 1849, only three years after exclaiming how glad they were that the parades had been virtually abandoned (BNL 3-7-1846), the Newsletter editorial of July 13 wrote that "we cannot avoid arriving at the conclusion that the (Orange) Institution is now becoming more than ever part and parcel of the very genius of the Ulster character". This optimism was expressed to soon, for in spite of the

apparent festival atmosphere at many of the parades, the violence was never far below the surface. Trouble followed Orange parades in Armagh and Newry in 1846 and in March 1848 the St Patrick's day parade at Downpatrick ended in a riot after the Catholic body was attacked. Similar events occurred at Ballynahinch and Hilltown, while parades at Coleraine and Derry were cancelled after warnings from Orangemen (BNL 21-3-1848). The following year a Ribbon parade at Castlewellan was attacked and the 1,500 strong parade at Crossgar ("there were twelve flags - pitiful, paltry rags; a large drum and two or three fifes") was also attacked by Orangemen. In the riot that followed a policeman and a young woman were killed (NW 20-3-1849).

On July 12th 1849 an Orange parade returning from Rathfriland was attacked by a party of Ribbonmen at Dolly's Brae, near Castewellan. The Orangemen retaliated, and 8 men were killed. The next year the Party Processions Act was renewed. Some Orange parades continued to be held, but these were small affairs and they received little publicity. A crowd of 10,000 that gathered at Legacurry near Lisburn in 1858 were dismissed as "chiefly farmers son's and girls" (BNL 13-7-1858). Arches and decorations were not erected on the scale of the late 1840s and lodges returned to meeting in their rooms to celebrate the day with food and drink. St Patrick's day received a similar response and parades were abandoned in favour of "drowning the shamrock". Some Masonic lodges in Antrim and Down persisted in parading St John's day, and several had their warrants regularly suspended through the 1850s as a result (Simpson 1924, 1926, Leighton 1938). In general the Party Processions Act was successful in controlling the parades and the consequent violence, and when they eventually resumed as a legal practice after 1870 it was within a changed political environment.

CUSTOM AND POLITICS

The practice of parading changed a great deal in the first half of the 19th century. From the isolated Twelfth of July parades in the late 1790s organised by the nascent Orange Order, an extensive range of annual commemorations were established marking a number of ideologically distinct and separate anniversaries across the whole of the north of Ireland. Although the banners and flags of the parading orders did not vary much in time or space, the introduction of Orange arches was an innovation which continued to be developed over the years, although still predominately based on short lived floral displays. Arches were as transitory and ephemeral as the parades themselves and often generated as much reaction, especially when erected in communal areas. But a major part of the Orange ethos, then as now, was to claim rights of access and dominance to the communal spaces across the province. The expression of specific and focused ideas and ideals through visual display still remained undeveloped in the 1860s.

The parades followed a regular, cyclical pattern. Peaceful displays increased in scale until they provoked an aggressive response from the "other party". There then followed a period of escalating violence before the state banned or attempted to ban all parades. This was usually only partially successful and bans were only obeyed where absolutely necessary. When the ban was allowed to lapse, the cycle began again. These cycles of rising violence coincide loosely with the larger themes of early 19th century political life in Ireland, that is with the events recorded in the history books. The early clashes at parades occurred at a time of rising Catholic political expectations in the years between 1810 and 1813, but the major escalation of violence after 1818 began before the next constitutional movement, the Repeal campaign was launched in 1823. After this there was a reduction in

random Ribbon violence and a greater emphasis on formal parades. It was during this period of Repeal agitation that the major florescence of Orange parades and displays occurred across the north, as the Orangemen reacted to O'Connell's campaign by marching more often, in more places and with more people. While the threat of violence remained as an undercurrent (Wright 1987), the parades were expanded as local expressions of power and dominance, but ones which needed constant re-affirmation. A large parade could only ever be a temporary and localised display of strength, and with a constant background of uncertainty, both political and economic, one response was to mark more anniversaries by taking to the roads. This growing culture of parading also served both to build more connections between people and places of similar faith, but at the same time intensify the social distance from those of the other faith. Commemorative parades thereby helped to consolidate the sense of difference and distinctiveness between Protestants and Catholics. For a time the Freemasons appeared to bridge the divide but ultimately the march to polarisation was too strong.

Nor was the state, either through policing or through the law, able to contain the importance of public displays of faith. The 1832 law was reasonably successful in constraining major violent outbreaks but not the parades themselves, but it was the commemorative displays of identity that were most insistently marked. National politics such as O'Connell's Repeal Campaign of the early 1840s generated less passion than the marching season. When they were legalised after 17 years, parades and displays flourished through the worst of the famine years. The anniversaries were celebrated more energetically than ever and almost immediately provoked a descent into riotous behaviour. Although the worst of the clashes were fought a few months after the failure of the Young Irishmen rising in 1849, there is little to suggest a connection.

Throughout all these upheavals the major consideration of the nationalist movements whether the Catholic Association, the Repeal Association or the Young Irishmen was the attempt to mobilise Catholic opinion and, through that, to alter the relations between Ireland and Britain. Ulster was of marginal importance on the political stage, it was relegated to the wings as the major tactical plays were made between Dublin and London. But, at the same time as the north east corner of Ireland was realigning itself as part of the growing industrialised society, so the northern Protestants confirmed their dominance in the public life of the region. The changing nature of the displays and parades can only partly be explained in conjunction with major political and economic events of the time: the participants responded to these changes but were not determined or bound by them. But nor were the Orangemen the simple agents of the landlords that Wright (1987) implies, although they often shared a common agenda. Orangemen, Ribbonmen and Freemasons largely fought out their battles on the smaller arena of local disputes, of rights to walk and dominate a local public arena. As such they remained largely outside of the influence of the respectable members of society. Local authority and the law seemed unable to control or direct the energies of the lower classes to their agendas.

The events documented above appear largely unpoliticised in relation to outside events and matters of state, but parades, and the attendant displays, steadily became one of the major expressions of lower class socio-political aspirations. Sectarianism emerged as a major factor in Ulster life in the early 19th century. In the 1780s and 90s it had been mapped out by sporadic violence and nocturnal raiding and was acted out on the margins of society. By the 1840s the sectarian division had become openly celebrated, structured and clarified by the ritual ceremony of commemorative parades. In the 1780s King William and Hibernia, the crowned harp and the shamrock could still be

displayed as diverse facets of a single movement, while St Patrick could be treated as a national symbol. Fifty years later this was no longer possible, these symbols signified opposing political desires. But the sectarian division of Ulster society was by no means a foregone conclusion: the evidence of the Freemasons suggests alternative possibilities, that a third path was still open even after the violence of 1798. When the parades were once more legalised after 1870 it was in large part as a result of populist politicians recognising the potential of Orange and Ribbon societies as popular mass movements in support of the national debates. The third path had disappeared.

PART ONE, CHAPTER 4.
LEGALISED PARADES, 1870-1968.

From the mid 1860s Protestant opposition to the Party Processions Act was led by the radical populist Orangeman William Johnston. In 1868 Johnston was elected MP for Belfast with a commitment to secure the repeal of the act, which was achieved in 1872 (McClelland 1990). Twelfth of July parades were held every year until war forced a break in 1916 and St Patrick's day parades were also held with greater regularity than before. But they were held against a background of polarising political demands. The Home Rule Association, founded in 1870, became a major force in British politics with the rise of Charles Stewart Parnell, who led the movement from 1880. Running concurrently with the Home Rule movement was a campaign for land reform, which was led initially by the Land League and later by the United Irish League. These campaigns were fought both within and outside of Parliament. Although land reform and the rights of tenants to buy their holdings was achieved through a number of Acts of Parliament between 1870-1909, Home Rule was less widely acceptable. In Ulster the rapid growth of linen and shipbuilding industries in the Belfast area during the 19th century meant that the north east had become more closely interlinked with the larger British economy. The Protestant population viewed moves towards Home Rule as a threat not only to their religion but also to their economic standing.

The Reform Act of 1884 greatly extended the franchise and in the 1885 general election Home Rule candidates won 85 out of the 103 Irish seats. This strength of support

encouraged Gladstone to introduce a Home Rule Bill the following year, but it was defeated in the House of Commons; the second Bill of 1893 was defeated in the House of Lords and it was not until 1913 that Home Rule legislation was finally passed, only to be stifled by the onset of war. Although the anti-Home Rule vote in the south collapsed in the face of the growth of the Parnellite nationalists, in Ulster political opinion polarised around the sectarian division. The Liberals, who had often drawn on support from both communities, were annihilated as a political force. Unionists won 17 of the 33 seats and Nationalists the other 16. From the 1880s onwards Ulster Unionists represented the only concentrated opposition to Home Rule. The Unionists felt betrayed by Gladstone's continued support for Home Rule, mistrustful of future British intentions and threatened by the rise of Irish Nationalism. Even after the split in the Nationalist Party in 1890, the death of Parnell in 1891 and the defeat of the 2nd Home Rule Bill in 1893, Unionists remained wary. Continued land reforms, the rise of cultural nationalism in the form of the Gaelic Athletic Association, the Gaelic League and the literary Celtic Revival movement plus anti-British support for South Africa during the Boer War, all contributed to their increased insecurity, and intensified the search to define and refine their own position.

It is with this background in mind that we must view the changes and developments in parading culture after 1870. Instead of being a lower class celebration that needed to be controlled and regulated, both the Twelfth and the St Patrick's day commemorations became closely linked to the wider political process. The extension to the franchise meant that the working classes had greater impact on the formal political process. Irish politicians, both Unionist and Nationalist, began to use the public commemorations as an opportunity to have direct access to a wide constituency of potential support and to link the celebrations of the

past to the contemporary political process. Although Orangemen had occasionally used the Twelfth assemblies to deliver political eulogies alongside the usual sermons, the practice of using the field as a locus and platform for political rallies and speeches, delivered by politicians rather than by churchmen, largely dates from this period. And, as the Orange Order began to be regarded as respectable once again, the Ancient Order of Hibernians replaced the Ribbonmen as the open representatives of rural, conservative Catholic Ulster. Both St Patrick's day and Our Lady's day (August 15) were adopted as Nationalist parading days. By the 1880s recreational violence, sectarian rioting and general disturbances were no longer either the regular or widespread feature of the summer parades that they had recently been. When violence did occur it was more closely linked to overtly political rather than commemorative events, and it no longer had the cyclical momentum of earlier years (Boyd 1987, Foy 1976).

As the crisis over Ireland's constitutional status rumbled on, Orange displays became an important medium for creating and defining a distinctive Ulster Unionist identity. Between 1900-14 this process reached a climax with an exuberant flourish of new banner designs, elaborate arches and probably the first politicised murals in the contemporary world. This chapter explores the transformations in parading culture and visual displays from 1870 until Partition, and then briefly reviews some key developments until the onset of the Troubles in 1968. From 1870 newspapers began to take more interest in the content of the displays rather than with their conflictual potential, but this interest was almost totally focused on the displays of the Orange Order. In part this is due to the political bias of the press, but only in part, since the nationalist Irish News (founded 1895) largely ignored the displays of the Hibernians, Foresters and other Nationalist groupings. It is impossible without much more

extensive research to trace comparable developments in these Nationalist bodies. The central records of the Hibernians were destroyed in the Civil War after 1921 (Foy 1976) and any detailed information is scattered in the minute books of local branches. The Irish National Foresters present a similar problem. Nevertheless, the available information suggests that a similar florescence of designs and displays was occurring, parallel with that of the Orange Order, among Nationalist groups prior to partition.

CLAIMING ST PATRICK

The Catholic population never adopted parades to mark their anniversaries to the same extent that the Protestants had done. Although O'Connell's Reform campaign in the 1840s generated mass rallies among Catholics this never translated into annual commemorations. In the north where the population was evenly balanced, Catholics did not mobilise politically on the same scale as elsewhere, and, when northern Catholics did try to parade Protestants often objected (Connolly 1981, Rafferty 1994). But after 1870 nationalist parades grew more prominent and more closely linked to the wider political agenda. Parades were regularly held on St Patrick's day and Our Lady's day in towns with a substantial Catholic population such as Derry (1), Downpatrick and Lurgan, and more irregularly in Belfast, Cookstown, Newry, Portadown and many smaller centres. Violence had never been slow to erupt when the northern Catholics sought to celebrate their traditions and on many occasions the threat of Orange violence was enough to stop parades. Home Rule parades and meetings to mark Lady's day at Cookstown and Gilford were cancelled in August 1872 when Orange counter demonstrations were announced. Violence frequently followed St Patrick's day parades in Lurgan and in Belfast, there were riots in August 1876 and in July 1878 (Boyd 1987). In 1879, although

St Patrick's day was marked by a heavy snowstorm, this did not prevent a number of arches from being erected in the city, nor the parade from making the journey to the field, nor however did it stop the parade from being attacked at several points on the return journey (BNL 18-3-1879). And in 1883 when it was announced that Parnell was to speak at a meeting in County Tyrone the Grand Orange Lodge mobilised at the threat of "Nationalist Invaders". Disturbances occurred at a number of locations and Parnell was replaced by the less controversial figures of Healy and O'Connor (Boyce 1990).

However the repetitious violence of earlier years was no longer a regular feature of the marching season and these disturbances were treated as minor scuffles rather than provoking the histrionics of earlier in the century, and escalating into counter-violence. St Patrick's day was made a national holiday in the 1870s and many people opted for a quiet day drinking and strolling around the town rather than parading. This choice may have been further assisted by the weather which was regularly poor at this time of year and which helped to defuse the day's combative potential. In 1888 after a number of quiet anniversaries with few displays and small parades the Newsletter reported that:

There were no Nationalist demonstrations of any note in the North of Ireland; indeed 17th of March seems to have lost all the political significance that attached to it some years ago" (BNL 19-3-1888).

But once again the press presumed too much, for by 1895 the day was once again celebrated with parades in Armagh, Coalisland, Derry, Dungannon, Lurgan and Stewartstown, while Lady's day was similarly marked at these locations as well as in Draperstown and Downpatrick (Irish News 19-3, 16-8-1895). Until the beginning of war in 1914, the Hibernians, the Foresters and Nationalist Party MPs all regularly took part in the proceedings, as these days were

adopted as calendrical rallying points in the campaign for Home Rule. St Patrick's day parades were more readily tolerated by Unionists, but public celebrations of a more controversial or political nature were not, and attempts to commemorate the centenary of the 1798 Rising in Ulster were met with violent attacks in many towns (O'Keefe 1990).

As these anniversaries became more openly political so too did the visual displays. In August 1872 the banners carried to Hannahstown outside Belfast were restricted to tried and trusted mottoes: "Remember Limerick", "God Save Ireland", "Erin Go Bragh" (Ireland for ever) and the crownless Irish harp, while in Derry they portrayed St Patrick, Pope Pius IX and Daniel O'Connell (BNL 16-8-1872). But two years later, at Downpatrick, banners appeared bearing the motto "Home Rule" and portraits of William Orr and Robert Emmett, political heroes from the United Irishmen era, and at Lurgan the banners, which "showed considerable taste and skill", portrayed Emmett, Wolfe Tone and the Manchester Martyrs, three members of the Fenian Movement whose public execution following the killing of a policeman in Manchester in November 1867 aroused much anger in Ireland (BNL 18-3, 17-8-1874, Newsinger 1994). In August 1876 nationalists in Belfast paraded to the music of the "Dead March" past the sites where Henry Joy McCracken had been executed and buried in 1798, they carried representations of Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and O'Connell as well as a banner portraying the Manchester Martyrs (BNL 16-8-1876). In Monaghan in 1884, banners bore the likenesses of leading political figures Michael Davitt, founder of the Land League, TJ Heally and Parnell, along with the slogans "Land for the People" and "Ireland for the Irish" (BNL 16-8-1884). Alongside these political figures one still finds numerous references to earlier historical and religious figures: Patrick Sarsfield, leader of James II's armies in 1691; Rory og More and Hugh O'Neill, two of the last great Gaelic chiefs; St Patrick, St Columbcille, and the Pope.

There is also the same range of customary symbols and slogans: the crownless harp; the wolfhound; the roundtower and "Erin go Bragh", "Faith of our Fathers" and "God Save Ireland". As well as becoming openly politicised the banners also linked the contemporary campaigns with the past. Although a peaceful movement the banners acknowledged the violent traditions of previous attempts for political independence, with the unspoken implication that the violence of the risings of 1798, 1803 and 1867 may be needed once more. But they also linked the future aims with both a clearly gaelic and Catholic past; whether the heroes were Protestants or not the implications were that they had gone to their deaths fighting for a Catholic Ireland.

Some arches were erected for O'Connell's mass rallies in the 1840s but they were never as prominent a feature of nationalist celebrations (2). But in the 1870s and 80s "green arches" were regularly erected in Belfast, Derry, Downpatrick and Lurgan and furthermore were used to display political heroes. In Belfast in 1875:

In Pinkerton's Row a green arch was erected with a green flag in the centre, bearing likenesses of the Pope and Dan O'Connell (BNL 17-8-1875).

In March 1878 a number of arches were erected in Derry bearing portraits of Emmett, Fitzgerald and the Manchester Martyrs and were topped with the Irish green flag and the French tricolour (Doak 1978 p159), and at Monaghan in 1884 "three or four green arches with crownless harps and portraits of Robert Emmett and Daniel O'Connell...were erected" (BNL 16-8-1884). Descriptions such as this are exceptions and make one wonder how elaborate some of these green arches may have been. Although they were now part of the celebratory display of both parties, arches often remained contested features. Nationalist arches were pulled down by the police in Derry in 1878 and the following year in Downpatrick a crowd of angry Protestants gathered to prevent a green arch from being erected in the position

traditionally occupied by an Orange arch each July (BNL 19-3-1878, 16-8-1879). The most controversial nationalist arch was erected in Winetavern Street, Belfast in August 1900 and carried the mottoes "Remember Spion Kop" and "Bravo De Wet" alongside portraits of the Boer general and the slogan "Let England not forget there's a day of Reckoning yet". Nationalists took the Boer side in the war, seeing parallels between their fight for autonomy from the British Empire and the Irish campaign. The Newsletter described this display as "exceptionally objectionable" and police were called in as a group of Protestant youths tried to destroy the structure (BNL 16-7-1900, NW 19-8-1900).

Catholics in Ulster took to the streets more readily than they had before 1870 and they paraded more widely than elsewhere in Ireland, but only in those areas where they were numerically strong. If the forces of law and order were ready to allow Nationalist parades and decorations on the streets, the Unionists consistently opposed them, even if now this was more often rhetorically rather than physically. The Twelfth was held each year without exception, but St Patrick's day parades were often relocated or cancelled. The Unionist attitude to Nationalist commemorations was to yield "Not an Inch". The constitutional nationalists who dominated the public sphere at this time were often willing to accede to Unionist threats rather than to antagonise them further, expecting that in the end the Ulster Unionists would accept their place in an Independent Ireland. But as the centenary commemorations of 1798 were attacked across the province and memorials destroyed (O'Keefe 1990), is it any wonder that the activities of the Boers were to become an inspiration for some?

ORANGE RENAISSANCE

The Orange Order returned to the streets en masse in 1870, when an estimated 100,000 paraded from Belfast to Derriagh with over 140 flags passing under numerous arches (BNL 13-7-1870) and in 1874 the Twelfth was celebrated at over 80 locations across the north of Ireland. Street decorations were prominent and elaborate. In Coleraine, at least 15 arches were erected, and incorporated representations of William III, the Relief of Derry, the Boyne Obelisk and "other emblems of the Revolution" (BNL 13-7 1870). In Lurgan, the following year, the public weighbridge was decorated with flags, flowers and surmounted by an emblem of a Bible although the Crown was "conspicuously absent", a protest at the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869 (BNL 15-7-1871). Floral decoration remained the basis for most street decorations (3), Ballymena in 1874 had "not seen such a crop of Orange lilies for many a year, and consequently not so many arches", there was "hardly a street in town without an arch" (BNL 16-7-1874), but by 1882 the Newsletter felt able to report that the time of:

stringing flowers on a cord and calling this, when stretched out like a clothes line, 'an arch' has gone. Beautiful pictures and appropriate symbols and mottoes met the eye (a)ll through the town (BNL 13-7-1882).

From the 1880s onwards the scale and extent of arch building steadily increased, particularly in Belfast. Many spanned the main thoroughfares and, as more and more streets erected their own displays, a friendly competition developed between neighbouring streets which encouraged still greater elaboration. In York Street, Belfast in 1884 the arch was:

formed of iron rods, over which is carefully stretched wire netting and its form is an embattled bridge with six arches between, separated by five Martello towers each being surmounted by a handsome flag. The design...is surmounted by the Bible and Crown...(and) a large well executed oil painting of King

William...each of the towers bears a heraldic shield on each side...(it) is surmounted by a line of bannerets, the Royal Standard and the Irish ensign being most prominent...(it) has never been paralleled in Belfast" (BNL 12-7-1884).

After the Bi-Centenary of the Siege celebrations in 1888, representations of the gates and walls of the city of Londonderry became one of the most prominent symbols to appear on the arches, readily adopted as an appropriate contemporary symbol by the Unionist working class. Alongside these Williamite representations other heroes were beginning to be portrayed on the streets, in 1877 an arch on the Shankill Road had a painting of Henry Cooke, a firebrand preacher from the earlier years of the century (BNL 12-7, 14-7-1877); Cooke also appeared on an arch in Antrim in 1879 along with Thomas Drew a similar figure from the recent past (BNL 14-7-1879). Contemporary political figures also began to form a larger part of the display, in 1894 Queen Victoria, the Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, AJ Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Randolph Churchill, who had coined the phrase "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right" during a visit in 1886, all joined King William on arches in Ballymena and Belfast (BNL 13-7-1894).

The main developments were in the sheer scale and profusion of the street decorations. Erecting the arch was an important communal activity in Belfast, from the 1890s these became larger and more elaborate and also more numerous as streets strove to out do each other in scale and technical sophistication. In 1900, after tramline installation had prevented arch erection for a number of years, seven arches were built on the Shankill Road and another 23 in side streets running off it. Arch designers kept devising technical improvements as well: many arches were still suspended affairs but were made more complex by creating double or triple arches to incorporate a wider range of images and slogans. But the suspended string arches were increasingly replaced by solid pole or frame

structures and from 1898 at least one arch at Bridge End was being illuminated by electricity.

The resumption of parades and continued expansion of arch displays gives the impression that little had changed in the popular commemorations but from the 1880s the Twelfth was adopted as a commemorative occasion for a much wider expression of Protestant unity. Celebrating King Billy's victories became a legitimate part of the broader political calendar. Orange parades and displays were no longer an embarrassment to the Ulster Protestant middle classes, they were now the key to maintaining their power base. At a time when Unionism was emerging as a distinct political response to nationalism, it needed to define itself anew, to create and refine its myths and symbols, and state what made "Ulster" distinct from "Ireland". Ernest Gellner has recently argued that there are two basic models for state formation. Newly emerging nation states

could either grow around pre-existing states and/or High cultures, or they could as it were roll their own culture out of existing folk traditions...In the latter case, a consciousness and memory had to be created, and ethnographic exploration (in effect: codification and invention) were mandatory (Gellner 1994 p 192).

Both Irish nationalists and Ulster unionists were in the process of redefining themselves and their traditions in relation to the British state in the late nineteenth century. The nationalists drew on Catholic and Gaelic folk traditions which were welded to the history of political rebellion and resistance to define a new Irish nationalism, distinct and separate from an inclusive British identity. But for Unionists it was more complicated, they had to persuade the British government that they were an inalienable and legitimate part of the British state. Unionists had to define themselves as both British and from Ulster, they had to blend High culture and folk tradition rather than choose an either-or solution. Having civilised

the folk culture of parading, it was then refocused as a vehicle to demonstrate Protestant unity. The energy which had been consumed in the violent creation of sectarian difference was redirected to the expression of an Ulster Protestant identity.

PROFESSIONALISING DISPLAYS

Many of the symbols and historical personalities represented at the July celebrations provide continuity with the earlier part of the century, but a much broader range of individuals began to be displayed. Some appeared on the arches, which were erected anew each year before they made the transition to the banners. The arches were examples of the art of 'bricolage', in which an effective display was produced with whatever happened to be available; they could be adapted to local variations and preferences while remaining responsive to minor changes in the political climate. Banners, on the other hand, often represented a more substantial investment, and during the more settled parading environment of the late 19th century production largely passed into the hands of the specialist producer. Apart from the traditional image of King William, the "Crown and Bible" and "the Secret of England's Greatness" are the only designs that were frequently recorded on Orange banners prior to the 1880s, but isolated reports suggest that a wider and more political range of images was beginning to appear at some parades (4). Already by 1877 there were a number of banners depicting "Brother Johnston of Ballykilbeg" at the parade in Banbridge (BNL 14-7-1876). In 1888, when the Belfast Orangemen walked to Lambeg, their banners "bore the portraits of the friends of Protestantism and the leaders of the Conservative Party" these included Henry Cooke, Thomas Drew, William Johnston and Lords Salisbury and Churchill. Local contemporary figures such as Edward Saunderson, MP for North Armagh (one of the first people to suggest publicly that it might be

necessary to resort to physical force to resist Home Rule) were also portrayed (BNL 13-7-1888).

Over the next twenty years, through the heat of the Home Rule debate, banner making became increasingly professionalised. With this commercial development came a standardisation of size, shape and design and, most importantly, an expansion of the subject matter and range of images (5). In the early 20th century the local press began to carry descriptions of the new, professionally produced, banners on display at the parades:

Several of the banners bore excellent portraits of King Edward VII...six banners had portraits of the late Queen ...while 4 or 5 (portrayed)...the late Dr Cooke...those which did not depict scenes of 1690 or bear an emblem of the Bible and Crown, were devoted to portraiture (including)...the Late Lord Farnham, Sir James Haslett MP, Sir James Henderson DL (and)...Col Wallace (who is at present out in South Africa with his regiment)", this list continues with the names and titles of a number of minor personalities who were depicted on the banners (BNL 13-7-1901).

Between 1904-14 there is an extensive record of these new banner images. Between 1904 and 1910, the Belfast Weekly News reported the new banners that were unfurled at some 77 ceremonies across Ulster, while from 1907 to 1914 the Belfast Newsletter carried a list of many of the new banners designed by the prominent Belfast banner maker, William Bridgett, as they appeared at the Belfast parade. Here a total of 49 new banners were recorded. Some of these two sets of records are possibly duplicates but they nevertheless give an useful cross section of the new images that were appearing at this critical time for the Unionists (6). Broken down into broad categories, they help to draw out some of the changes that were taking place.

Subject.....	Unfurling.....	Bridgett
King William.....	55.....	39
Williamite Events.....	22.....	14
Politicians.....	13.....	9
Local Dignitaries.....	20.....	7
Biblical Stories.....	9.....	4
Monarchs.....	8.....	2
Protestant History.....	6.....	5
Crown + Bible etc.....	9.....	8
Local Places.....	2.....	11

King William dominates the corpus and the traditionally important images of the Crown and Bible, the Secret of England's Greatness and depictions of the monarch are still in demand. But there are a greater range of historical events being depicted, even if these largely relate to the Williamite period (Carrickfergus, Torbay, Derry etc). The most obvious change is in the number of banners depicting local places, politicians and personalities. The events being commemorated are no longer simply abstract historical, religious and imperial ideals but increasingly it is local identity and local connections which are the focus. King William is no longer the isolated heroic monarch; he is now seen landing in Ireland at Carrickfergus and later leaving Belfast Castle before marching south to the Boyne. His importance is based not only on his role as the Protestant victor over the Roman Catholic King James but also by the fact that the campaign took place in Ireland and that William journeyed across the province. His status is enhanced by his physical presence in Ulster, rather than just the battles he fought. The increased prominence given to the Siege of Derry and the battle of Newtonbutler are further examples of this localisation, as these battles were fought and won before William and his armies arrived. They are examples of local resistance. This increased emphasis on the Williamite campaigns could be used to inspire resolve and steel the opposition to Home Rule. These developments in banner paintings ran parallel to the debates among Unionists over the legality and

morality of military opposition to Home Rule, and the raising of the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force.

The Biblical and religious imagery that appear for the first time can also be understood within this framework of localisation. Religious symbols and Old Testament stories had been a central element of the iconography of the Freemasons since the eighteenth century and used by the Orange Order since its formation. Hitherto these had been publicly restricted to a few, abstract, coded expressions of the Protestant faith, but now they were made more elaborate and explicit. Historical figures such as Luther and Wycliff, Protestant martyrs like Latimer and Ridley and Biblical characters such as Moses, Samuel, David and Goliath, Naomi and Ruth are represented for their metaphorical value, and as exemplars for the Unionist plight. Clear analogies could be drawn between the Ulster Protestants and the Israelites, and Biblical and religious history could be used as a guide to practical action (Buckley 1985-6). The religious values were no longer simply expressed through Imperial ideals and the "Crown and Bible", but were localised as well; ideals were now embodied in the memory of radical Presbyterian preachers and grounded in the very bricks and mortar of neighbouring churches. The Imperial connection remained important, but local religious leaders and politicians were feted with equal reverence. In the extended period of heightened political debate over the long term constitutional status of Ireland, the banners of the Orange Order were an important part of the political discourse of Unionism. Depicting a wide range of contemporary local heroes, they drew clear connections between the historical past and current concerns, and stressed the importance of action as well as words. In all these instances the changes emphasise the emerging identity grounded in a sense of place, a community defined by its history of independence and a tradition located in Ulster and intending to stay in

Ulster, come what may.

THE FIRST MURALS

As a part of this expansion of displays, wall murals appeared for the first time in the years immediately preceding the War. The earliest description of a mural painting dates from 1911:

The usual arch at Albertbridge Road, on Malcolm Street has been replaced by a large painting of King William on the side of a house at the corner of Malcolm Street. The painting has been draped with purple, garlanded with evergreen and surmounted by loyal and patriotic mottoes, Union Jacks, portraits of the King and Queen and Orange leaders, and, above all, the inscription "God Save the King". A somewhat similar idea has been effectively carried out on the gable of a house on Beersbridge Road near Clara Street." (BT 12-7-1911).

Mural painting soon became an established feature of the Twelfth decorations in "several districts" of the city. Most paintings depicted King Billy, although Sir Edward Carson was also portrayed on at least one wall (NW 13-7-1914). The only surviving image from this period is the elaborate mural painted by Tommy Henderson [illustrated in Loftus (1990 p 31) and by Rolston (1991 p 22)], on Dee Street in 1913 (BT 11-7-1913). This mural occupied the full side of the gable wall, with the date 1690 appearing on the chimney stack, a crown and Bible on the apex and King Billy crossing the Boyne filling the remainder. The painting was surrounded by an elaborate frame which included a painted curtain and orange lilies. The mural was formally unveiled "with appropriate ceremony" and a pair of real curtains were temporarily used to cover the image prior to the event (7).

Mural painting was a direct development from the arch building tradition, and this ancestry was embodied in the painting itself. The variety of images and slogans within

a single form was typical of the increasing complexity of arches in the pre-war period, while the inclusion of an evergreen garland is a direct reference to the traditional and still widespread practice of basing arch designs on floral devices. Decorating houses was first noted in East Belfast from 1871, in Lisburn in 1876 "a large number of houses...were gaily decorated with Orange emblems" (BNL 13-7-1876). One might wonder whether these were as much isolated examples of reporters interest as of local practice. As local competition and decorative complexity increased, the one area of display that had not been explored was the temporal, arches were erected in the few days preceding the Twelfth and were removed soon after, but by painting on the walls the displays of loyalty could remain in place the year round. The atmosphere of friendly rivalry within the loyalist community and the broader political debate both encouraged this elaboration of images. While the painting of a mural would not necessarily stop an arch being erected, it would be a permanent reminder to neighbours and others that this street was not just occupied by fair-weather loyalists.

REMEMBERING THE SOMME

The Twelfth parades were cancelled in 1916 and the anniversary passed in a more restrained manner in the other years of the war. But in 1919 commemorations resumed as normal, and a full range of arches and street decorations were erected once more throughout Unionist Belfast. The Ulster Unionist's resistance to Home Rule had been further bolstered by the experience of the war and in particular the contrasting actions of the Republicans and Unionists in 1916. The Easter Rising in Dublin was regarded by Unionists as a stab in the back to Britain, and in stark contrast to the tragic, but heroic, slaughter of the Ulster Division at the Somme in July 1916. This willing sacrifice being the strongest possible indication of both Protestant loyalty

and their irredeemable Britishness.

In 1917 the first arches were erected "In Memory of our fallen Heroes". At the field the following year speakers eulogised "A Tribute to our Soldiers", spoke of "Ulstermen and Liberty", predicted "Home Rule an Impossibility" and warned of the "Power of the RC Hierarchy" (BNL 13-7-1918). But the opposition to Home Rule was no longer couched solely in references to 17th century battles or in abstract politico-religious ideals but could be securely anchored in the events of the recent past. If Derry and the Boyne had proved the willingness of the Ulstermen to fight for their faith, then the Somme was a symbol of their willingness to fight (and die) for King and Country. After 1918 the World War, condensed into the single event of "the Somme", was introduced into Orange mytho-history as a contemporary equivalent to 1690. The ultimate sacrifice paid by so many Ulstermen provided further justification of their resistance to Home Rule and enhanced their determination to remain as part of the United Kingdom.

This connection between the two battles was paraded for the first time on the morning of July 12 1919, when Hydepark LOL 1067 unveiled their new banner portraying King Billy at the Boyne on one side and the Battle of the Somme on the other. Hitherto Orange banners had only depicted historical scenes relating to the Williamite campaigns, and the elevation of the battle of the Somme into the iconography of the Orange Order confirmed its near sacred status in the popular memory. The first murals painted after the war were a similar mixture of the traditional designs and references to the war. At Hornby Street the painting depicted the "Mountjoy breaking the Boom" overlooked by an imperial Britannia; at Victoria Street the painting of King Billy was surmounted by an Ulster Red Hand symbol; and at Carnan Street it took the form of a memorial to those killed in the war, the Red Hand and Union Jack flags flew over a

mourning figure and underneath the memorial was the motto "For King and Country" (BT 11-7, 12-7-1919). After partition war memorial murals were regularly painted on the streets of Belfast. On Primitive Street the mural included the figures of a soldier and a sailor and the names of some 50 local men who had been killed. It was ceremoniously unveiled by Harry Burns MP on the eleventh evening (BT 12-7-1923). On Dundee Street a crowd of "several thousands" attended when a new mural was unveiled by Sir Robert Lynd MP. This mural was painted over four evenings by a local sign writer, George Wilgaus, and depicted the battle of the Somme and a portrait of General Sir Henry Wilson, the Unionist chief of the Imperial general staff (NW 12-7-1926). Wilson, along with Edward Carson and Sir James Craig, the first Prime Minister of the Stormont Parliament, appeared on a number of murals in the early 1920s and were also widely depicted on the Orange banners among portraits of those earlier heroes who had opposed Home Rule or promoted the Orange Order: Disraeli, Chamberlain, Colonel Verner, Edward Saunderson, William Johnston and others.

Once partition was confirmed and the sectarian violence of the early 1920s ended, loyalist commemorations flourished in the early years of the Stormont administration, an annual celebration of their newly secured identity, while in contrast Nationalist commemorations were restricted to the margins of society. The Orange parades grew to enormous size; in 1926, 100,000 were reported to have walked in Belfast with a further 50,000 spectators (NW 13-7-1926) and street decorations once more began to flourish. Kerbstones were painted red, white and blue, and arch designs became more extravagant: in Sandy Row a triple arch in a decorated trellis structure spanned the width of the road and the pavements on either side (BT 12-7-1923). The entrance to Ormeau Street was filled with a replica of the turreted and battlemented walls of Derry, with metal gates that were locked shut at night (BT 13-7-1925). In 1927 the Belfast

Telegraph (12-7) noted that while "arches are still as popular as ever", murals "of which there were many a few years ago appear to have declined in favour", but new paintings appeared throughout the 1930s. Most were the classic portrayal of King Billy on his white horse, although on the Shankill he appeared between Carson and a uniformed Prince of Wales (BNL 12-7-1933, Rolston 1991 pp 19-23). References to the war remained frequent: a mural depicting the battle of the Somme at Coolfin Street was surmounted by King William on his white horse, while the war memorial tradition continued with the Whitehall Cenotaph depicted on a wall in Roden Street (BNL 12-7-1935). Arches remained the dominant visual display, and in 1939 just as war was approaching, the tradition reach a climax in a riot of extravagant designs: in Berlin Street, Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son in the centre of a floral suspension arch; in Malvern Way it was the Mountjoy as the centrepiece; in Brown Street the fabric suspension arch, six sections deep contained portraits of the King and Queen; in Scott Street a mock brick structure was erected and in Cable Street a triple arch in a modern, industrial style depicted King Billy on the top.

DECLINE OR CHANGE ?

Arches continued to be erected after the Second World War, but no new stylistic developments occurred and the decorations never matched the profusion of styles and inventiveness of the inter-war years. Newspaper photographs often showed the same streets and the same designs year after year. In 1963, an official of the Orange Order claimed that at least one new arch had appeared every year since the war and they were now more numerous than ever, but the following year only one arch was reported in East Belfast (BNL 9-7-1963, 10-7-1964). If arch building had declined in popularity, mural painting was almost non-existent, and the Newsletter claimed the tradition to be

slowly dying. In 1960 their reporter found only one painting in good condition in Belfast, a King Billy mural in Silvergrove Street first painted in 1938 and redone in 1960 (see photo BNL 9-7-1960); others in East Belfast, the Ormeau Road and Shankill areas were "so faded that only the poorest outline was visible". When the Rockland Street King Billy mural was repainted by the Dowie Brothers in 1968, it was redesigned for the first time in 39 years (BNL 12-7-1968).

Post-war austerity has been cited as one reason for the decline in decorations. These new arches were no longer home made affairs, they had become a major communal investment which would be expected to last for a number of years. An arch erected on the Shankill Road in 1959 cost £300, the first on the street since 1901 and a new arch on Sandy Row in 1964, had a span of 40 ft and cost £1000 (Orange Order 1970). Raising the money for these structures required substantial planning and organisation, but this was a time when post war urban renewal and slum clearance programmes had begun to break up long established, tight knit communities that had kept up these traditions. As people were encouraged to move out of the inner city areas to satellite estates and towns, there were less individuals around willing and able to do the work necessary to erect the displays. Rolston suggests that popular support for loyalism was steadily eroded in the post-World War Two period, the decline in the traditional linen and shipbuilding industries and the growth of the welfare state were undermining the long standing inter-class Unionist unity, systems of patronage and self confidence. As the loyalist consensus, built up during the Home Rule resistance, began to fragment the "beginnings of unionist uncertainty were reflected in the decline of traditional cultural expression" (Rolston 1991 p 27). From the mid-sixties this change was represented by the appearance of a reforming liberal Unionism, apparently willing to make some

changes and shed some of the siege mentality of the past. However, these reforms had not developed to any substantial extent before the old insecurities and intransigence reasserted itself in the face of the increasing confidence of a growing civil rights movement, and the cry of No Surrender was raised again.

However, one should be wary of confusing the decline in the scale of some displays with wider changes in political attitudes, especially when basing any analysis on a very narrow range of indicators. Protestant popular culture had been a dynamic process for nearly 200 years and during that time had redefined itself on a number of occasions, adopting and developing a number of visual forms to represent its current ideological position, and as we have seen its demise had been welcomed numerous times before. Protestant cultural expression had flowered most strongly in periods and places of most tension and uncertainty, in County Armagh in the early 19th century and Belfast after 1900. It had also lain dormant and declined in intensity before, notably in the mid 19th century, only to revive at the next crisis. Mural painting, which clearly did decline after the 1940s, was after all the most recent and most geographically restricted of the cultural traditions in the North. It is less clear when one considers the experience in Derry, and in the rural areas, whether the arch building and parading traditions suffered the same fate in this period outside of Belfast.

After the flurry of new designs after the First World War, when the battle of the Somme and contemporary figures were represented on the streets for the first time, no changes or additions have been made to the Unionist pantheon. When Bridgett Bros produced a catalogue of their banner designs in 1930, one can see that practically all the historical, religious and imperial images which are currently paraded had become established in their present form. Many of these

images represent the developments that occurred prior to World War One. Border decorations have become less florid but all the widely used images were established by this time and many contemporary banner designs are clearly close copies of Bridgett's original work. The iconography of loyalism has remained remarkably stable over the past century, while the core symbolism of Orangeism has remained consistent (and conservative) for the past 200 years.

While the popular iconography of loyalism remained grounded in the heroes and certainties of the past, the dynamic element in Orange displays was now concentrated in the structural elements, in their form and presentation rather than in the content. If arches became rarer in Belfast they also became bigger, more solid and were erected for longer periods of time, and this pattern has been replicated in the rest of the province. The banner images have remained static in range, but the number and size of the parades has grown. I have already noted the commemorations of the Somme that started in the 1920s, but this period also saw the consolidation of Royal Black Institution parades on the last Saturday in August; of junior Orange parades from the 1930s, and of a range of Apprentice Boys parades outside of Derry, while in the 1950s workers at both Shorts and Harland and Wolff held their own Twelfth parades (BNL 11-7-1959). Some aspects of loyalist exuberance expended on commemorating the past had clearly stagnated and lost their dynamism after the 1930s, but this can only really be argued for some forms of visual displays in some of the urban areas. It would be mistaken to assume a more widespread anomie from the evidence of just Belfast.

One problem with accepting Rolston's argument is his reliance on identifying Unionist culture with what was happening in Belfast while ignoring the smaller towns and rural areas. Belfast appears to have been unique in its development of the mural painting tradition which has not

been recorded elsewhere in the province, but the other forms of display were widespread. In Derry the summer celebrations commemorating the Raising of the Siege appear to have grown steadily in popularity during this period (there is a question over the veracity of the numbers quoted in the papers, but even with this caveat the general principle of growth stands). The first siege anniversary after the war attracted some 12,000 people (BT 11-8-1945). By the mid-50s the parade, held on the Saturday nearest the anniversary of August 12, regularly attracted around 20,000 people and 100 bands (Derry Journal 15-8-1955). From 1957 it was decided to revert back to the earlier custom and hold the parade on August 12, whatever day of the week it fell on but this did not reduce the crowds, which continued to increase each year. In 1960, 40,000 people attended and 5,000 Apprentice Boys and 120 bands took part in the parade. Lord Brookeborough, the Northern Irish Prime Minister, was among 500 individuals who joined the Apprentice Boys that day (8).

In 1961 the crowd was reported at 50,000, nearly doubling the city's population, while 131 bands marched and 700 new members were initiated. The parade was described as one of the biggest this century (BNL 14-8-1961). The day remained popular throughout the 1960s and attendance was important for politicians: a young Martyn Smyth was noted, the reforming liberal Prime Minister Terence O'Neill joined the parade in 1965 and in 1968 his future replacement James Chichester-Clark and OUP leader to be, Harry West, were among a number of MPs who attended. By this time the parade had become so big that the route had to be extended by a half mile to stop those at the head and the tail of the march from meeting on the circular route (BNL 12-8-1968). But this was the last Siege parade before the Troubles began. While Derry was the most potent symbolic place in Ulster for the Unionists it was also a predominately Catholic city, many of whose inhabitants disliked or

resented the celebrations. As the right to march, so precious to the Unionists, was denied to Nationalist and Civil Rights groups it became clear that the forthcoming August parade would become a real rather than symbolic test of who controlled the streets. The 1969 parade ended in a riot, Free Derry was born and the rest is history (McCann 1980).

The example of the Siege commemorations in Derry suggests that it is simplistic to argue for a wholesale decline in Unionist cultural traditions after the Second World War. The event was thriving, even expanding and was clearly a sufficiently important occasion for Unionist politicians to affirm their allegiance to the spirit of the Apprentice Boys. The large numbers of males joining the organisation each year shows that it was still an important feature of Protestant popular culture and part of a secure and confident identity rather than the confusion and dissolution that Rolston has identified.

CONTEMPORARY ARCHES

The decline in the number of arches in Belfast noted from the 1960s has continued, and in recent years only four arches have been erected for the marching season, one in Sandy Row, one in the Shankill, one in Tigers Bay and the other on Ballysillan Road. The arch in Sandy Row, maintaining a tradition dating back to the 1830s, is erected outside the Orange Hall, at the assembly point for all Orange parades in the district. The present arch, designed by a shipyard worker Roy Turner, was built in 1980. It is made of steel and aluminium and stands 22 feet high. The blue pillars and the orange span are decorated with a range of Orange symbols and on the top a small representation of King Billy. The first impression is of a decorated version of the huge container cranes in the Harland and Woolff yard. Unlike in earlier years, this arch

is erected over a number of days; two nights are taken to erect and bolt the pillars into the ground and another day to fit the span which is dropped in place by crane. The aim is the erect it by the third Saturday in June. It is then formally opened prior to the mini-Twelfth parade, and it remains in place until the end of July. In contrast, the arch on Ballysillan Road is a much simpler pole structure which is stabilised by being stood in oil drums filled with concrete. The span is a slender metal trellis but it carries the same range of symbols and images as the one at Sandy Row.

While Belfast has largely abandoned the arch as a feature of the summer displays, they remain the dominant form of decoration in many of the towns and villages surrounding the city. In the Unionist heartlands of South Antrim, North Down, Armagh and East Tyrone each settlement erects its arch, wherever possible across the main thoroughfare, for the month of July. There is none of the competitive rivalry that flourished in Belfast. Each community is concerned with displaying their own loyalist credentials, of proclaiming that this is still Protestant territory, to themselves, their neighbours and those passing through. One could make a coarse demographic survey in this month simply by driving the backroads of Ulster and noting those towns with arches and those without. In some of the larger towns such as Portadown and Larne there are still more than one arch, a prominent structure straddling one of the main through roads and others are erected in residential streets and estates. In Cookstown a pair of matching arches are located on the crest of the hill at both the northern and southern extremes of the main street, they can be seen not only from any point in the town centre but also from some distance away. In a number of places: Banbridge, Dromore, Lisburn and Richhill an arch is erected at the very centre of the town, in Dromore and Richhill they are located next to the War Memorial. But as ones moves west and closer to

the border where populations are more mixed and balance of numbers more equal, so arches become rarer; even in staunch loyalist areas in County Fermanagh the displays are muted and arches few in number.

The arches remain the most conservative of the three main visual displays, with a few exceptions they depict only the main symbols and icons of Orangeism and exhibit none of the political slogans or images that flourished at the end of the last century. The dominant form is similar to the Ballysillan arch described: above slender pole uprights with a trellised head carried between two spanning poles. The images are often mounted on the trellis or hung between the poles in a manner derived from the earlier suspension arches. All make visual and verbal reference to the four major battles of the Williamite campaign, the monarchy and Orangeism. Apart from King Billy, the Derry gates are the most prominent images, usually portrayed closed and in the centre of the span. Some are still very elaborate structures. Lisburn still displays a massive triple arch, as it has since 1849, and in Dromore the arch is an imitation brick structure with models of the Mountjoy and Derry's Roaring Meg cannon on top of the span.

Portadown has probably the finest range of contemporary arches with at least five erected in 1992 all in different styles. The triple arch on Bridge Street, which spans the main road into town from Lurgan and Gilford, is similar to one photographed in the same place in 1933 (BNL 12-7-1933). Its red, white and blue uprights support a span depicting Derry's gates with a battlemented head topped by a crown. A black "marbled" triple arch ceremoniously marks the entrance to Mourneview Street, bearing the slogans "No Surrender" on one side and "In Glorious Memory" in orange letters 18" high. Decorated with models of the Mountjoy and Roaring Meg, it is surmounted by another small arch covering a mounted King Billy figure and topped by a crown.

In July 1992 a new arch was erected in the Edgarstown estate, unusual in that it is dedicated to the memory of the Somme and carries no overt reference to Orangeism. Bearing the motto "In Memory of the 36th Ulster Division" it lists the names of the major battles above two model cannons and an Ulster Red Hand. In recent years Portadown has witnessed protracted disputes over attempts to restrain or stop Orange parades in the Nationalist Tunnel and Garvaghy Road areas. In 1986 this protest escalated into violent clashes between Orangemen and police following the intervention of Ian Paisley, who insisted on exercising his "inalienable right" to walk wherever he chose. The dispute is still unresolved and is resurrected annually (BT 8-7-1986, Bryan 1995). In other times and places events like these were just the sort of thing to make Unionists dig their heels in and resist change with an appeal to tradition. Arch building in prominent urban areas remains a key part of Orange tradition forcing Catholics, Nationalists and others to acknowledge a fact that they would perhaps rather ignore, that "this town is and will remain Protestant". The arches display the Orange icons on a more permanent basis than the paraded banner and this, and their location, often makes them more difficult to ignore than the march. It is therefore not surprising that it is in Portadown, one of the few locations in which Orange parades have come under sustained opposition, that the arch building tradition remains most vibrant.

PART TWO: CONTEMPORARY PARADES.

Having excavated the history of parades we now move to the ethnographic present. However, first I want to give a brief consideration of the social geography of parading. As we have seen, in the late 18th century the locus of parading moved from the capital, Dublin, to the northern province of Ulster. From then on Ulster stands as a place apart, a region where the culture of parading escalates in scale and intensity while elsewhere it declines into obscurity. The plantations of the first half of the 17th century, which saw the arrival of large numbers of Protestant colonists from England and Scotland established the structure of difference on which Ulster has subsequently developed. From the late 18th century industrialisation attracted migrants from the rural areas to the emerging urban centres of Ulster; this was predominately a movement from south and west to north and east. The migrants were largely Catholic and they moved into areas dominated by Protestants. Extensive industrial development in the 19th century led to the rapid growth of both Belfast and Derry, and a steady increase in the proportion of Roman Catholics in each city (Boal and Douglas 1982, Doak 1978). In Belfast, Protestants have always remained the dominant group, Catholics never accounted for more than 35% of the population; in Derry Catholics soon became the majority but Protestants retained control of the structures of power. In both cities the growth in population led to both the appearance of distinct sectarian residential districts and the emergence of sectarian violence as a recurrent feature of life (Boyd 1987).

The two confessional communities have remained distinct: culturally, socially, politically and to a great extent geographically. Protestants and Catholics are largely endogamous communities and although the towns, villages and dispersed rural settlements are mixed, many individuals streets or estates in working class areas are designated or acknowledged as identified with one faith or the other. The local proportions of Catholics and Protestants vary from area to area: the Protestant community remains dominant in the eastern counties of Antrim and Down, while Catholics are numerically dominant west of the River Bann. Not that a sense of antagonistic difference is in any way immutable, in many parts of Ulster the two communities live side by side and in relative harmony, an aspect of life in the north that is often overlooked in an eagerness to get to the nitty-gritty of violence and counterviolence. Histories of Ireland only too readily concentrate on the explosive episodes of inter-communal violence and political rebellions that have punctuated the past 400 years. Anthropologists who have chosen to focus on this aspect of life have in turn perhaps underplayed the potential for violence that is sedimented into much local cultural practice. The reality is as always somewhere between the two extremes, some areas have been and continue to be more peaceful than others, while in times of increasing tension, such as the late 1960s and early 1970s, eruptions could be quite unpredictable. However, as I will try to draw out in the thesis, each town or village, and each estate within a town or city, tends to have a bracketed identity as a place that is more or less Catholic or Protestant.

Belfast itself has developed into a mosaic of estates and districts which are predominately defined in terms of the sectarian divisions of society. Some of these communities are well known through the national and international media, others are only discernable to those who live there. East of the river Lagan, Belfast is overwhelmingly

Protestant, the west of the city is largely perceived by outsiders to be synonymous with the nationalist Falls Road but it also includes the staunchly loyalist Shankill Road. The north of the city is a heterogeneous mixture of small groups of streets each with a distinct identity, while the south is a mix of working class Protestant areas and middle class districts. Although these divisions can be traced back into the early history and development of the city (Beckett et al 1988), the periods of violence around partition and since 1968 has seen a hardening and formalising of the separation of the two communities. In 1911, 41% of Catholics and 62% of Protestants lived in streets in which 90% of the population were of similar faith. By 1969 this had increased to 56% and 69% respectively, and by 1972 to 70% and 78% (Boal 1982 p252). With the continued violence these divisions have been consolidated. But more than that, the informality of earlier divisions which allowed a steady, if partial, re-integration in periods of peace, has been transformed by a series of permanent divisions, or "peace lines", so that sectarian division of the working class areas has become institutionalised as part of the fabric of the city. There are some 16 distinct peace lines across the city; these have gradually developed from crude barricades or rolls of barbed wire into carefully planned and aesthetically landscaped brick structures (Jarman 1993, Quinn 1994). The rebuilding of the most extensive wall dividing Springmartin from New Barnsley in west Belfast began the day the IRA ceasefire was declared, around the same time a "peace fence" was erected through Alexandra Park in the north of the city. While the ceasefires have seen many of the dividing gateways in the city and the border crossings reopened, the divisions between residential communities remain.

Although these peace lines have been built to separate Protestant from Catholic, they also help to fragment the

two communities internally. The geographical disruption and road closures have meant that many circumferential journeys can no longer be made easily, people must travel along radial routes into the city centre and out again. The older networks of contact between areas have been closed down. Furthermore there has been an extensive movement of population out of the city centre and out of Belfast altogether. The city has suffered a decline in population since 1971 from 350,000 to 275,000. Many of the old established communities have been demolished, fragmented, relocated and destroyed (Wiener 1978). Taken together with the massive decline in the industrial and economic base, the old certainties of life in Belfast have been catastrophically removed (Goldring 1991, Chapter 2).

This changing city has perhaps been more acutely experienced by the Protestant working class, not because they have suffered more than the Catholic community but because they expected more, they had been encouraged to believe in the idea of a Protestant state for a Protestant people and Belfast as the capital of their country. But the city was never just a collection of streets, factories, shops and buildings: it was always partly a place of the imagination which could only ever really be realised in the act of movement (de Certeau 1984). Benedict Anderson (1983) has suggested that one of the important stimuli to the idea of a national identity among the colonial regimes of South America was the constant movement of administrators whose travels encouraged the formation of a geographically bounded place. In Belfast, and by extension other towns and villages across Ulster, one might suggest that the very existence of the city as a single place, and the personal sense of belonging to the larger community, is brought about through the act of walking together in an act of commemoration and celebration. As the city has grown and fragmented, the very idea of Belfast as a place and the unity of ones own community within it has been maintained

and confirmed by ones experience of it: a city which is most readily experienced by the annual cycle of parades. Parading is therefore also about the process of mapping the city, inscribing an identity onto the very streets of Ulster and reconnecting the fragmented parts into an idealised whole.

PART TWO, CHAPTER 5.
THE TWELFTH OF JULY IN BELFAST.

The Twelfth of July remains the most important date of the year for Ulster Protestants. Each year 18 parades are organised by the Orange Institution to celebrate the victory at the battle of the Boyne in 1690 (1). The Institution has had fluctuating fortunes during the Troubles, it is seen by many as an anachronism in a modern state, an uncomfortable reminder of a sectarian past, while its demise has been expected if not confidently predicted, but it has survived and in the 1990s seems to be flourishing. The Orange Institution retains many similarities with the Freemasons which it drew on for much of its structure (Dewar, Brown and Long 1967), but, as Buckley (1985-6) notes, it is more useful to follow the Order's self description as a "society with secrets" rather than regard it as a sinister secret society. In the urban centres it is now a predominately working class organisation but it remains a pervasive body throughout Ulster Protestant society cutting across boundaries of place, class and wealth although its importance within systems of patronage has declined from since the earlier years of the century (Bew, Gibbon and Patterson 1995, Farrell 1980). With an estimated membership of 40,000, the Orange Institution is the most important voluntary organisation in the north of Ireland and it remains at the heart of Ulster loyalism. It is a male organisation (although there is a small women's Institution), but it is a brotherhood that is open only to Protestants. The Protestant population of the North currently stands at

under 1 million so the Orange Institution can claim to represent a substantial percentage of that community.

The Institution has an hierarchical structure, but much of the practical activity is decentralised and carried out at a local level. Private lodges, the lowest level of the hierarchy, may be organised around a church, place of residence or workplace. Individuals can apply to join any lodge they choose, but often family or residential connections determine the choice that is made. In the urban areas this may mean that each lodge is a relatively homogeneous body with no great social differentiation, but in the rural areas membership may be socially diverse, a feature which has been useful in maintaining vertical alliances within the Protestant community (Harris 1972). Each lodge has a range of officers: secretary, treasurer, chaplain, Lodge master and deputy. These last in particular are rotated around the membership on an annual basis. Members meet and pay fees on a monthly basis usually at an Orange Hall, which can be found in most towns and villages. Meetings are functional affairs and discuss business matters, fund raising and planning for the annual commemorations. Officers of private lodges meet at district level to organise church and mini-Twelfth parades. The districts are in turn organised at county level: the Belfast districts form one county, the City of Londonderry another and the six others follow the local governmental boundaries. Three of the Twelfth parades are organised as a single county parade (Belfast, Armagh and Fermanagh) the rest are hosted either by single districts or groups of districts.

The Belfast County parade is the biggest event of the Ulster marching season and the culmination of much intense preparation and activity spread over the preceding weeks. This involves erecting decorations, building bonfires and holding smaller parades and commemorations throughout the

city. Although this build up has been acknowledged by those anthropologists who have considered the nature of the Twelfth (Larsen 1982, Cecil 1993) the full importance of the preparatory events remains underestimated. Instead of examining the Twelfth as a single day of commemoration and celebration it should be considered as a more extended ritual process, of variable length and complexity, whose fullest expression is currently played out in Belfast. The temporal and performative scale of this public ritual has been expanded on several occasions in the past 200 years and has increased still further in extent since the present Troubles began in October 1968. In this chapter, I want to consider how the Protestant community is re-created and re-affirmed each year by these events. In particular, I want to explore how the scale of the event helps to accommodate differences within that community, the culmination being to present a public semblance of unity which is structured upon a diverse range of interpretations of the key symbols of Ulster loyalism. By spreading the commemorations over an extended period all sections of the community have an opportunity to engage in the re-enactment, and public unity is built incrementally from the bottom upwards rather than imposed from the top downwards. The scale and complexity of the political community in Belfast necessitates this extended germination and this in turn helps to retain all opinion within the flexible and expandable boundary of loyalism.

This process will be illustrated by describing the build up to the Twelfth in the Sandy Row area of the city through the summer of 1994. Sandy Row is a working class area in south Belfast adjacent to Great Victoria Street and Dublin Road, the main southbound thoroughfares in and out of the city. Sandy Row is a local shopping centre, largely comprising two storey Victorian properties. Much of the housing has been redeveloped in recent years, although a large area at the northern end, off Great Victoria Street,

is derelict and used as car parks. Bounded on the north and east by the city centre, on the north west by the railway tracks and in the south by the Lisburn Road, Sandy Row is a geographically tightly defined community that retains a strong sense of identity and distinctiveness. Apart from the shops the only prominent buildings are the four storey Victorian Orange Hall and the recently reconstructed and enlarged Rangers Supporters Club. Facing each other at the cross junction with Donegall Road these two buildings exemplify the cultural parameters for many working class Protestant men.

DECORATIONS.

Towards the end of June the Orange Arch is erected in front of the Orange Hall. An arch was first recorded in Sandy Row in 1835 and the current version is the most imposing of the few that are still erected in the city. The orange and blue structure spans the width of the road and in the evening the designs of King William and other Orange symbols are illuminated by numerous small lights. Red, white and blue bunting is strung across the main shopping area and in some of the residential back streets. Flags are flown the length of the street on most shops and on many houses. The red and white Ulster cross is prominent, but the unofficial Independent Ulster flag is increasingly hung, only a few buildings fly the Union Flag. Flags and other decorations are also displayed in many shop windows. Every few years the kerbstones on the main thoroughfare are repainted red, white and blue. This is also the time for painting new murals or for brightening up old ones. There are a six existing murals in the Sandy Row area, another two have been removed in the past year. Although a number of new murals have recently been painted in other Protestant districts none have appeared in this area.

THE MINI-TWELFTH.

All the decorations are completed for the mini-Twelfth parade held on July 1. This is a local version of the main parade and also a commemoration of the battle of the Somme (2). This anniversary is marked by a formal wreath laying ceremony at the Cenotaph beside Belfast City Hall while the east Belfast Orangemen hold a Somme parade in the evening. In Sandy Row the No 5 district Orangemen, with full regalia, banners, flags and bands, watched by friends, neighbours and relatives and scrutinised by numerous RUC officers and army personnel, set off along Sandy Row. Halting only as the district officers lay a wreath on the local war memorial, the route takes in the length of Sandy Row, before turning eastward to circulate through the streets around neighbouring Donegall Pass. Cutting back across Sandy Row, the men head up Donegall Road to Roden Street and then through the Village before completing the figure of eight parade route by returning via Tates Avenue and the Lisburn Road to their starting point. The parade takes about two hours to complete (Map 5.1).

While this is a commemorative parade, the Sandy Row Orangemen simultaneously mark out the boundaries of their community. Beginning at the centre they walk to the boundaries that separate the adjacent loyalist communities from their nationalist neighbours: at the bottom of Donegall Pass, at Roden Street and at the Village. These boundaries are now distinctly defined by buffer zones, empty spaces, major through roads and prominent murals, but these divisions must still be symbolically re-affirmed by the act of processing. Marking the boundaries also serves to facilitate the symbolic unity of the four distinct geographical communities in the Sandy Row Orange district. The local allegiance to a sense of community which through the rest of the year serves to maintain a sense of difference between these areas, are put to one side

SANDY ROW DISTRICT PARADE ROUTES

Solid Line - Mini-Twelfth Parade.
Broken Line - Route to Assembly Point on Twelfth.



(Holloway 1994a,b), as the parade reaffirms an essential unity of belief.

Similar mini-Twelfth parades are held in other areas of the city in the run up to the Twelfth (and increasingly in other towns in the north). The first is held by the small No 4 District in north Belfast at the beginning of June, and marks the beginning of the Belfast parading calendar. The Clifton Street Orange lodges parade on the third Friday of the month and the following Saturday the west Belfast Orangemen hold their parade. Finally and on the Wednesday after Somme day the last mini-Twelfth is held in Ballynafeigh. Collectively these parades map out and reaffirm the integrity of the main loyalist areas of Belfast prior to the symbolic reintegration of these scattered communities as a single entity on the Twelfth (Map 5.2). Together the six parades encompass most loyalist residential areas of the city within their perambulations, and practically inscribe the Orange claim that Belfast is their city on the very streets themselves (Werbner 1994). The small parades provided the secure foundations for the domination of the heart of the city on the Twelfth.

But in recent years this right has come to be challenged. Since the early 1990s residents have tried to prevent the Ballynafeigh Orangemen from marching along the Lower Ormeau Road on what is regarded as a traditional route but through an area which has now become predominately. In 1992 despite heavy policing, a small number of Orangemen were filmed shouting sectarian slogans and making disrespectful gestures as they passed a bookmakers shop at which five people had recently been killed by the UFF. This produced outraged protests among local politicians and in the media. Although the local parade has been allowed to continue along the traditional route on the morning of the Twelfth, the No 10 District mini-Twelfth has been re-routed away from the Lower Ormeau area from 1993 onwards. In 1995 the

campaign to get all loyalist parades excluded from the area was intensified and with the police responding to each parade on an individual basis the future access to this traditional route looked doubtful for the Orangemen. In 1993 the RUC also attempted to re-route the west Belfast parade away from its traditional route on the Springfield Road. Loyalists protested and a UVF man died when a grenade he was holding exploded. Several days of rioting followed on the Shankill as loyalists clashed with the police.

Threats to traditional parade routes have a strong emotive appeal to the loyalist community across Ulster because they threaten perceived "traditional rights" and thereby undermine the unified symbolic community that is re-created each year. The old mini-Twelfth route along the Ormeau Road connected the Ballynafeigh district with the Sandy Row area, both included Donegall Pass within their processional, that symbolic unity has now been ruptured and Ballynafeigh is cast adrift in south east Belfast. Although the right to parade itself is not questioned the intricate web of affiliations that they map out across the city is being destroyed as Orangemen are forced to take account of the changing structure of the city. For loyalists, brought up with the belief that Northern Ireland was a Protestant state for a Protestant people, the right to parade where they will was an expression of their collective authority over the whole of Ulster. Any constraint or restriction on parading rights emotionally symbolises, more clearly than anything else, their declining position of power in their own land. Nationalist residents who object to the disruption and inconvenience caused by loyalist parades through their streets have insisted that tradition takes notice of changing residential patterns and thus accept the evolving nature of the city and its symbolically created power relations (see Cohen 1993, Jackson 1992 for contests over parade routes). By refusing to allow specific routes to be annually re-incorporated into the Orange community

the nationalists continue to assert new rights to define for themselves the new boundaries in each locality, in this way the nationalist communities gnaw away at a loyalist unity and their sense of control that is annually inscribed on the city streets.

BONFIRES AND CHURCH.

The mini-Twelfth parade defines and re-affirms the essential unity of a community that is spread disparately over a diverse, but bounded, geographical area. It publically reveals and gives physical expression to an otherwise fragmented imagined community. Until the Twelfth this unity of purpose once again disappears from view. There is lots of activity and much of it is in public but there is no public activity as such. Numerous diverse interest groups, Orangemen, bandsmen and bonfire builders, but also the women whose invisible work is no less necessary to a successful Twelfth, prepare for their part in the celebrations independently of each other. There is no coercion or central organisation overseeing the entire process, although individual activities and groups are of course organised. Preparations happen informally and to a great extent depend on the number of people able and willing to get involved. Therefore the scale, the range and the quality of the celebrations vary from year to year and from area to area. The scale of flags, decorations, murals and bonfires may depend on the actions of no more than a few men.

The main visible activity at this time is in the gathering and protecting of wood for the local bonfire. Countless fires are built across the city in preparation for the 11th night when the Twelfth will be seen in. Pallets, railway sleepers, tyres, old furniture and any wooden or burnable debris are gathered at the chosen site. Each locality gathers its own wood and builds its own fire, and with

local competition over who will build the biggest pile, there is a threat and fear that outsiders will try to burn the assembled timber before the event. So most wood only appears, and the fire built, in the few days before the 11th. During this time the pile is always protected, young boys stand guard through the night with a makeshift shelter offering protection from the rain. The fire builders are assisted by boys of all ages, the youngest kids being content to play with the small smoky fires and embers that are a constant feature of these sites. Girls are rarely attracted to, or encouraged to help at, the fire sites.

For the past two years the fire on Sandy Row has been built on the corner of one of the car park sites at Hope Street. Before that it had been constructed on empty land next to the Orange Hall, but as with all bonfires across the city, traditional sites have to be given up to the demands of redevelopment, and the fire builders are forced into a nomadic quest for space. Usually another derelict plot is available but if not fires are sometimes built in the road, or closer than desirable to houses. Houses and shops may suffer damage as plastic gutters and signs melt, murals get blackened or destroyed, street lamps are burnt, telephone poles set on fire and wires brought down and grassy play areas are scorched. Within broad limits the inconvenience and potential danger is tolerated. The fire is an essential part of the Twelfth celebrations and as such has a primacy in many peoples eyes over more mundane concerns.

Tyres are often used to form the core of the fire, to fill a frame constructed from interlocking railway sleepers. Pallets are then stacked on top to give as much height as is possible. Around the base the smaller pieces are piled to give conical form to the whole. Wood is carried to the top by clambering up the side of the stack, ladders may be used in the early stages when carrying up the railway sleepers but no mechanical assistance is used. The finished

fires can in some cases be awe inspiring in height and their apparent precariousness. They easily reach twenty feet or more and only the amount of wood available and the ingenuity and skill of the men building it constrain the scale. On Sandy Row the fire, built over the 10th and 11th, was initially topped with the Ulster flag, but this would be replaced with an Irish tricolour before the firing.

The only parade held in this period is on the Sunday before the Twelfth, when Orangemen across the north walk to church for the Boyne Anniversary Church Service (3). No banners are carried, only a Union Flag, an Ulster Cross and the Orange Standard head the parade. The Sandy Row parade is formed of a single column in three ranks, consisting of perhaps 400 men. The men walk in lodge groups, but without banners there is no means of identifying these and individuals are distinguished only by the variations in colour and design of their collarettes or sashes. As they approach the Somme Memorial, the single accompanying band stops playing and the men march to the beat of a single side drummer, flags are lowered, and at the command "eyes right", hats are removed and the dead honoured.

Few people gather to watch this parade, which involves only a short walk down Sandy Row and back up Dublin Road to the Great Victoria Street Presbyterian Church. Without the brash music, the range of banners and flags, church parades have none of the colour or noise of the main commemorations; they are essentially private events to the Orange Institution which move through public space rather than being public occasions per se. This distinction between church parades and public commemorations is enhanced by the fact that alone of all Orange parades they are held on a Sunday, a day that still remains devoid of public or commercial activity within the Protestant community. When the Twelfth falls on a Sunday the parades are postponed until the next day. The men process within

the core of the district rather than marking boundaries or confronting outsiders and they generate little of the controversy, the protests or the interest of the other parades. Church parades focus attention onto the religious principles that underpin the Orange Institution and which provide its unifying core, principles that are frequently occluded in the public sphere. At the same time, the church parades are the least supported by the membership of any parades, and if the lack of regalia emphasises the underlying unity rather than more localised divisions, it also obscures absences.

On the eleventh of July the final touches are put to the bonfires. From eleven o'clock people gather around the fire sites, young men and women with carrier bags full of cans of beer, families with young children and babies in prams, older people who have seen it all before, a few tourists. Chip shops and fast food vans do a roaring trade, two small groups of evangelical Christians hold services on the pavement, trying to convince passers-by of the errors of their ways but generate little interest. A prologue to the main event is a small fire made of left-over bits of wood and set alight by the younger children shortly after eleven o'clock. This quickly gets out of hand and engulfs a group of advertising hoardings whose images are gradually eaten away by the flames. Later the boards themselves crash to the ground to cheers from the crowd. In Sandy Row the main fire is lit on the dot of midnight to welcome in the Twelfth. The fire starts slowly but as it spreads around and up the stack the crowd is forced to retreat across the road. As the flames eat their way up the pile of sleepers and pallets, attention is focused on the Irish tricolour at the top, and as it is engulfed and dissolves in flames a great roar goes up. In the years before the Troubles, the night would continue with music and dancing in the streets until the early hours, but now once the flag has been burnt and the peak of the fire has passed, the crowd rapidly

fades away, to more private partying or perhaps even to get some sleep before the big parade.

THE TWELFTH.

In the morning the Orangemen and their bands begin to assemble at the Orange Hall from eight o'clock in readiness for a 9am departure. Some lodges meet at the hall, others parade from their lodge master's house. Here they break ranks and, leaning flags and banners against the walls and scattering drums over the pavement, they talk with friends, smoke a cigarette and in some cases crack an early beer. The 11th had been overcast but dry, but now a steady, and sometimes heavy, drizzle is falling, the sky is a darkish shade of grey and there is no wind to clear the air. Popularly, a sunny Twelfth confirms that God is Protestant, but this year he is definitely a "taig" (Catholic). Some bandsmen, in particular accordion bands, don capes to protect their instruments and many of the Orangemen carry umbrellas as a matter of course, but most of the younger bandsmen, attired in brightly coloured uniforms, take the rain as part of the day and are already quite wet by the time the parade assembles for the start. For many Orangemen the stereotypical dark suit and tie, with a bowler hat and umbrella remains the appropriate dress for the day, but for most a suit of any colour is adequate and hats are no longer so important. The one article of clothing which is essential is the sash (worn over one shoulder) or the collarette. These are usually orange and purple but blue, crimson and white are also common colours. All members of a lodge wear the same style and colour. The collarette carries the lodge number and may also bear badges noting the wearer's present or past office in the lodge (Treasurer, Chaplain, Past Master etc). Some Orangemen also decorate their collarettes with emblems and symbols of the order or badges of King William.

Each Twelfth numerous small boys make their first appearance on the Orange stage, accompanying fathers or grandfathers in the ranks. Some hold the ribbons of the banners to stop them blowing about too much, boys from as young as 4 or 5 years old also appear as members of various bands, carrying cymbals or miniature drum major's staffs they walk as far as they can. Women also parade in small, but increasing, numbers, but they never seem as relaxed or expressive as the men, as if they know they are intruding in a male event. Younger girls are largely kept to the sidelines, a few accompany their fathers but not in the same number as young boys and although girls often form the colour party or play in many of many of the bands, they too are marginalised and forced to adopt a male role for the day. Most women settle for a support role, cheering their men from the sidelines.

At 9am the Orangemen set off down Sandy Row for the third time in 12 days. The Somme Memorial is acknowledged with the usual solemnity, they turn right into Hope Street where the bonfire is still smouldering from the night before and then left onto Great Victoria Street, towards the city centre. The parade moves past the City Hall and along Royal Avenue before turning up North Street towards the Shankill. At Peters Hill, they pass the small nationalist Unity Flats estate which is blocked off with huge vehicle-mounted screens attended by army personnel who stand guard and attentive as the Orangemen pass by. At the bottom of the Shankill the parade cuts through the new estate towards Carlisle Circus where the Orangemen from other Belfast districts are assembling for the start of the main parade (Map 5.3). At Carlisle Circus the junction north with the Antrim Road is also closed and screened off, and further down Clifton Street the other end of the Unity estate is similarly closed. Although the residents make no protest and remain invisible, they are effectively imprisoned within their estate until the procession has left the city

centre.

At 10am the Orangemen are led off by the Belfast County officers with the Burdge Memorial Standards (4), a Union Flag and an Orange and a Purple Standard; these are followed by a colour party displaying the flags of the various countries in which Orangeism flourishes. The standards are protected by six Tylers, who walk on the outside of the colour party carrying unsheathed, ceremonial swords. After the officers and their accompanying band, the first lodges follow behind their district bannerette. The lodges follow in numerical order by their lodge warrant number. Each lodge is preceded by its banner and its colour party carrying the Union Flag, the Ulster Cross or an Orange Standard. The large banners require a number of pairs of men able to take turns in carrying it over the full route. Small lodges or those with mainly elderly members either walk without a banner or use a bannerette. Increasingly many lodges have a car or minibus to accompany them on the walk, to carry the very young, the elderly or frail members all or part of the way, and sometimes they carry the banner on a frame on the back of the vehicle.

Each year a different district leads the parade. This year the small and recently combined nos 7 and 8 districts from north Belfast head the parade, followed by nos 9, 10 and then 1 through to 6. Districts 6, 9 and 10 join the parade in the city centre. District No 6 arrives from East Belfast to join the main procession at Royal Avenue; No 9 District from West Belfast parade down the Shankill Road and join at North Street and finally No 10 District from Ballynafeigh parade down the Ormeau Road and join the main body at Donegall Square. The ritual re-unification of the dispersed Protestant communities of Belfast culminates at this point, the nominal seat of local civic authority and the centre of the city. The decentralised symbolic communities that had been mapped out by the mini-Twelfth parades are now joined

together as a single body. Having inscribed their presence over the loyalist areas of the city, the separate threads are finally combined at the City Hall as the Orange lodges of Belfast occupy and claim authority over the streets of the city centre. Until the parade arrived the city centre had been left devoid of party displays or decorations but on the Twelfth all other activities are abandoned for the day, shops and businesses are closed and the city is claimed by the Orangemen as theirs and theirs alone. The city of Belfast is now clearly marked as Protestant.

At the City Hall the county officers lay a wreath at the Cenotaph. The ceremony concludes with a trumpeter playing the Last Post. However this ritual of quiet contemplation and symbolic unity is often marred by the late arrival of the Ballynafeigh lodges. Oblivious to the wreath laying ceremony on the other side of the square they proclaim their arrival to the rest of their brethren by blazing out a vibrant marching tune. Ignoring the intrusion and having made their commemoration to the war dead, the officers rejoin the main body of the parade which now begins the long walk to the Field. As they pass the Cenotaph, each band acknowledges the memorial by reducing their playing to either single drum beat or to silence, but as soon as they have passed the memorial they burst into full voice. The tunes range from traditional anthems like "The Sash" and "Derry's Walls", through versions of nationalist songs such as "The Fields of Athenry" and interpretations of modern pop songs. There are a number of accordion bands on the parade, but in Belfast flute and drums are the most popular instruments. Behind the a drum major or the colour party, a row of side drummers, a bass drummer and several ranks of flautists, sometimes thirty or more in number, march out in regular step. The melody flute bands are serious musicians with a large repertoire of tunes, often played from sheet music, but the younger bands, known as "blood and thunder" bands, dominate the Belfast parade and concentrate on

marching and party tunes with a strong percussive beat which they play from memory. The "blood and thunder" bands are largely male, although they often have a female colour party, but the accordion and the melody flute bands often have female members. The drum remains an almost total male preserve. Most lodges hire a band to play them to the Field and, apart from rest stops, the parade is awash with noise the length of the route. Each band plays at its own preferred volume regardless of neighbouring bands. At any one time the spectators are likely to be able to hear three different tunes, one from the band that has just passed, one from the one in front and one from the one approaching. While most spectators stay at one spot to watch the parade pass many of the blood and thunder bands are accompanied by a crowd of friends and girlfriends, who walk along the pavement, cheering and encouraging the bandsmen and joining in with some of the tunes. Friends also help with important business of supplying refreshments; soft drinks are usually consumed on the route but beers are expected at the Field. Accompanying supporters are usually seen with carrier bags full of cans of lager.

Nowadays most bands are independent bodies, separate from the Orange Institution, but by participating in the Orange parades they confirm their support for the general loyalist position, without necessarily conforming to all the Orange ideals. For example, the Institution has rules and regulations controlling the forms of regalia that can be carried on parade, and although the bandsmen are supposedly constrained by these rules, they frequently try to subvert them or simply ignore them. Like the Orange lodges, the bands carry distinctive regalia to proclaim their public identity and their ideological allegiance. The main point of dispute has concerned the representations of the emblems of the loyalist paramilitary groups, the UDA, UVF and the Red Hand Commando, which are carried on many band bannerettes and flags or emblazoned on their bass drums,

while in the past year the unofficial Ulster Independence flag has been flown at many parades. None of these flags are on the Orange Institution approved list. To an extent the autonomy of the bands has been an accepted part of loyalist public unity in which the general symbols of the Institution can accommodate numerous interpretations, but in private the paramilitary regalia has been regarded as an unwelcome intrusion, disrupting the public image of a religious organisation. While it may be possible to banish the more extreme regalia from the parade, it is more difficult to control the music and the most traditional sectarian anthems are beaten out with a gusto and regularity that continues to delight the crowds of spectators.

Leaving the City Centre, the parade heads up Bedford Street and Dublin Road before beginning the long, slow climb up the Lisburn Road. Despite the rain, thousands of people line the six mile walk to Edenderry. They stand two or three deep in places, while the curbside is claimed by an array of picnic chairs, deck chairs, wooden dining chairs and assorted other seats. Elderly people and children occupy most of these, while the rest of the family and friends stand around, sheltering from the weather under umbrellas or a variety of headgear. Few shops are open on the Twelfth (and no bars) and so picnics and drinks are brought out onto the streets. Numerous hamburger vans, sandwich stalls and ice cream vans dot the route and every church on the Lisburn Road opens its doors to sell teas and sandwiches. The spectators listen to the music, wait for husbands, fathers and relatives and look out for old friends, who have perhaps not been seen since the last Twelfth. Although the parade is a formal occasion, Orangemen readily break ranks to shake hands and acknowledge friends as people call out from the roadside, even stopping off for a quick word before rejoining their lodge. The procession takes about two hours to pass any one

spot but as soon as the final lodge and the police escort have passed the crowd breaks up and returns home until it is time to greet the men on their return in the afternoon.

For the walkers there is a long road ahead as they leave the city. The march is taken at a steady pace and two rest breaks are made on route, but for much of the first half there is a steady incline up the Lisburn Road as the road climbs away from the Lagan valley, replicating (supposedly) the route King Billy took from Belfast in 1690. After cutting down onto the Malone Road the last stage of the walk involves a steady drop back to the valley floor and a final half mile following the course of the river along Edenderry Road to the Field. The last lodge does not arrive until after 2pm, some 4 hours after the head of the parade left Carlisle Circus but the Field affords an opportunity to rest and recuperate. Some lodges bring caravans or tents to provide a modicum of comfort and in recent years more and more lodges have coaches waiting to take them to a restaurant or bar for a meal. Some Orangemen leave the parade before the end and go home for a few hours, but for many there is little option but to kill time. Musical equipment is discarded on the grass, banners and other regalia are sometimes treated with respect but often used to protect the drums or lay crumpled on the damp grass, for the two hour break they are forgotten and time is spent talking and resting. Fast food stalls offer their limited range of sausages, beefburgers, fish and chips and soft drinks. An evangelical preacher, whose church has preceded the Orangemen from the city, vainly attempts to attract some attention. A few stalls offer a selection of loyalist trinkets: tapes, badges, flags and hats. Fortunately the rain had largely stopped by mid-morning and the weather is now pleasantly mild.

At the lower end of the Field a covered platform has been erected and the officers and dignitaries hold a Service of

Thanksgiving and a Public Meeting. The meeting approves a series of resolutions on loyalty, faith and state, and allows leading members of the Institution (who are often politicians as well) to comment on current affairs. The resolutions and the speeches made from the platform are widely reported on the news and in the papers, where extensive quotations are recorded, but they are almost totally ignored at the Field. Of the estimated 20,000 men on parade, barely 50 took part in the service, a few more stood idly by listening to the speeches and even the presentation of the band awards drew little interest. At its height the platform events attract no more than 100 people, including the reporters and photographers. Belfast is not unique in this matter, a similar level of interest in the platform is shown at all loyalist events.

At 4.15pm the Orangemen begin to leave the Field in the same order that they had arrived. The return lacks the precision and efficiency of the outward march, bandsmen and Orangemen are often late returning to the Field or simply never arrive, preferring to join the parade en route. The parade is more relaxed and celebratory on the way back, alcohol is obviously an important factor in relaxing the mood of both crowd and marchers. Some bands adopt funny costumes or paint their faces for the return: dark glasses emphasise the hard-man image, faces painted with Union Jacks are popular and a variety of hats or headgear are substituted for the tam o'shanter of the uniform. This year the biggest response was for a band wearing Mexican sombreros and false Zapata moustaches (a reference to the recent Irish defeat by Mexico in the World Cup). The spectators crowd into the road narrowing the space for the walkers, and by the time the parade arrives at Sandy Row at the bottom of the Lisburn Road, the road is reduced to barely half its width. The security presence here is the most concentrated since leaving the city in the morning,

but the RUC officers and their armoured Land Rovers remain in the background, watchful yet unobtrusive. The crowd call out to friends and cheer all the bands; middle aged women have licence to be more outrageous than most, a small group of "Orange Lil's" wearing Union Jack clothing join in with the parade for a few yards, accosting, flirting and dancing with the men. The paraders respond, to the welcome of the crowd, the bass drummers strike up as loudly as they can with the favourite loyalist anthems, the drum majors perform the most flamboyant, acrobatic staff twirling, throwing their heavy batons twenty, thirty feet into the air and then catching them cleanly to roars of approval; and the younger Orangemen, now often down to shirt sleeves, exert their final energy and display their bravado by jigging along with their banners, leading their brethren in a snake-like dance along the road.

Just past Sandy Row, at Shaftesbury Square the parade begins to break up; No 10 District return to Ballynafeigh via Donegall Pass and the Sandy Row lodges separate to end their Twelfth at the Orange Hall. Other districts will break ranks and head their separate ways home before the remnants of the parade finally ends back at Carlisle Circus. It is shortly after 7.30pm when the Sandy Row lodges end their day's walking. As the parade passes and the spectators drift away the pavements and gutters are awash with paper, cans and bottles, the debris of the celebrations. The cleaning up operation begins almost immediately and by the following morning the city is spick and span.

IN CONCLUSION

The Twelfth of July parades are primarily acts of commemoration, a time to perpetuate and celebrate the memory of a three hundred year old battle when the Catholic King James was defeated by the Protestant King William at

the Boyne and established the ascendancy of the Protestant faith in the political domain. This ascendancy is annually re-affirmed. On the Twelfth of July, the past struggles are commemorated through a performative re-enactment. Each year the events of July 1690 are re-played with the march to battle and back now condensed into a single day. For that day the Orangemen constitute themselves as a replica army and the parade mimics the departure to and return from war. The Institution displays itself as a mirror of the military structure of regiments and companies; each group of men is headed by its officers and standardised and almost identical ceremonial regalia; they are piped off on the march by the martial music of the young bandsmen in their brilliant costumes. The performance itself condenses time. As the contemporary community re-lives the events of the past they become contemporary events, and the performance is no longer restricted to a symbolic meaning, the enactment has real effects in real time. The sombre mood of the morning with the ardours of the march in front of them, is contrasted with the joyful, drunken exuberance of the return to the city in the evening elated by the success of the (battle)field. The tension and expectation of the departure is resolved and released with the safe arrival home. The victory is confirmed for another year and the ascendancy assured. For the performance to be disrupted or cancelled would be to transform history, to rupture the simultaneity of past and present and make the future uncertain. The act of performative commemoration completes a circle between the past and the present and thus makes the future certain.

In spite of the emphasis on the militaristic base of Protestant life, the performance also highlights other aspects of the community identity which remain vital to its sense of unity. The Orange structure of egalitarianism, as a fraternity of brethren, is made visible in the form of the parade. There is little formal distinction between the

marchers, between lodges and between districts. Each one of the marchers is the equal of all the others. Each of the different districts are represented as equals, each takes its turn at both the head and the back of the parade. The discipline and hierarchy of the army is strengthened because it is entered into freely and based on mutual respect and common purpose. Bourdieu (1977) and Foucault (1977, 1981) have shown how the disciplined body can serve to concentrate and focus more abstract ideological ideals, and all the more powerfully for being entered into unknowingly, the imposed discipline of the prison less successful than the insidious subtlety of the domestic routine. The rituals of the marching season, which includes both extensive and intensive periods of performative display and discipline, are a period when the collective focus is on the idealised community, and the community collectively embodies and dramatises its past glories and future aspirations. While the overt focus at this time is on the performance of the men on parade, there is still a role for those members of the community who are excluded from the walk. At the departure the men are cheered on their way by the women, children and the elderly who remain behind, but proud to see their men depart. They will be on the streets later to see them return. (A similar scene was witnessed recently at the departure of Margaret Thatcher's Falkland's Task Force.) These people may appear to be excluded from the actual parade, but they retain a key role in the community: they may seem little more than a passive audience but they too are confirming their role. They are witness to their men's courage and fortitude, they too are forced too make sacrifices, they will maintain the community in their absence, they are providers and nurturers, they thus have their part in assuring the future. The ceremonies of remembering therefore extend beyond the pure act of commemoration and engage with more mundane features of daily life. The performance helps to confirm the importance of traditional and "natural"

divisions of labour, the essence of what it is to be male and female, adult and child within the Protestant community and thereby defines that community in opposition to the other. These embodied memories can then be carried over into the daily routine.

The Twelfth of July commemorations physically reconstruct and re-affirm the unity of the fragmented loyalist population in Belfast. This unity is achieved through the process of creating and displaying a community whose defining values are expressed and internalised through both an extended ritual performance and, as we shall see below, through an elaborate visual display. This performance is extended over a lengthy period, not because of the complexity of the message being conveyed, but to allow it to be said in as many different ways and by as many different interest groups as possible. This extensive ritual process also helps to embed the values and memories which are displayed at the key moments into the routine of daily life. The ideal community is momentarily realised during the parade on the Twelfth, when the imagined Protestant community of Belfast is made visible and physical and in total and uninhibited control of the public spaces of the city. This unity is created in opposition to those who are excluded from the days events, the Roman Catholic population, who are allowed no part in the proceedings and are in some cases virtually imprisoned for the day as daily routine is put on hold. Anecdotal reference is often made to the fact that in the past, before the present Troubles began, Catholics would often come onto the streets to watch the parade pass. But these people could never participate in any way as Roman Catholics, but only in the non-sectarian and individualised role of "good neighbours". The unity of the Twelfth can only ever be a unity based principally on the Protestant faith. The visibility of the Protestant is enhanced by the total invisibility of outsiders, no reference is made to

the Catholics on the images on the parade, and their houses are physically concealed from the marchers. On the Twelfth they do not exist. The day is an occasion when the city of Belfast is not only host to the reunited Protestant community but becomes a totally Protestant city. But Belfast is not unique, the complex web of parade routes and preliminary events that built up to the Twelfth is also played out across the rest of Ulster and similar parades are held across the six counties to extend the unity to all Protestants. The nationalist community in their turn also commemorate their heroes and parade to assert their political visibility and affirm their continued presence within Northern Ireland. It is the wider practice of parading which will be considered now.

PART TWO, CHAPTER 6.
THE PARADING YEAR IN ULSTER.

The Orange Order is only one of a number of bodies who organise parades, the Royal Black Institution, the Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Junior Orange Institution are fraternal organisations which also hold regular commemorative parades, while the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Irish National Foresters and the Republican Movement organise parades within the nationalist community. In 1994 there was a total of 2,792 parades held in the north of Ireland, 2,520 loyalist events and 272 republican. The RUC records show that there has been a steady increase in recent years (Table 6.1). The figures show a vast imbalance between the number of parades that are held by each community: loyalist parades outnumber republican ones by around 10:1 although the number of commemorated events is broadly similar. Three factors may be taken into consideration when examining the large number of loyalist parades, which works out at an average of over 49 parades each week in 1994.

First, this number includes a large number of band parades which are held throughout the summer months. Notices of events in the Ulster Newsletter reveal three or more parades every Friday and Saturday and many others go unadvertised. These are a distinct part of the wider loyalist culture of parading but are not necessarily related to any commemoration; they are locally organised events at which the many marching bands compete with each other for a range of trophies and prizes. While these are

not a part of the commemorative cycle, they nevertheless add another layer to the network of affiliations that are mapped out across the province.

TABLE 6.1 Total number of parades between 1985-94.
Detailed Statistics began in 1985. Illegal parades in brackets.

	Total	Loyalist	Repub.	Rerouted	Disorder/ Conditions Imposed
1994	2792	2520	272	29	
1993	2662	2411	251	12	
1992	2744	2498	246	16	
1991	2379	2183 (2)	196 (2)	14	1
1990	2713	2467 (1)	246	10	1
1989	2317	2099 (1)	218 (1)	14	5
1988	2055	1865 (4)	190 (4)	10	21
1987	2112	1863 (49)	249 (47)	11	18
1986	1950	1731	219	9	
1985	2120	1897	223	22	

Source: RUC Chief Constables Annual Report and RUC Information Department.

Second, each event, both social and commemorative, may involve a large number of individual parades. Orangemen rarely depart for, or arrive at, a venue in a quiet and inconspicuous manner. Instead they parade locally before boarding a bus which takes them to the main venue. This will be repeated on the return. Each major event may therefore also include a large number of these small satellite parades, for which separate permission will be required. For instance, an event like the County Armagh Twelfth involves Orangemen from all over the county parading at a single venue; each lodge or district may well choose to parade locally before travelling to the main event and then repeat the process in the evening. A town like Portadown may have a number of these small parades each year without actually holding a Twelfth parade. Although there are 19 main parades on the Twelfth of July,

the total number of applications, and therefore legally recorded parades on that day may run comfortably into three figures.

Finally the imbalance of power in the north has historically been used to constrain nationalist and republican parades while loyalists regard parading as an expression of their inalienable rights. Loyalists expect to be able to march where and when they will, while nationalist parades are often seen as a threat to public order. Loyalist parades are inevitably presented as cultural and traditional rather than political, while nationalist and in particular Republican parades are seen as political and therefore provocative and confrontational. Traditional parades are presented as unproblematic and uncontentious whereas political parades need to be carefully policed and constrained. The opportunity to demand and to exercise the right to march is thus a symbol of the distribution of political power in Northern Ireland. Tradition is invoked wherever possible, while the language of politics is avoided. This is not an unchanging scenario, however: conflict at loyalist parades in Portadown in 1985 and 1986 saw changes in the law in 1987 which required seven days notice for all parades. This in turn generated the large number of illegal parades in the following years. Since the mid-1980s parading of all kinds have been subject to closer scrutiny, restrictions and debate (1).

The most intensive period for parades is July and August but the build up begins with a series of commemorations at Easter. Band parades take place each weekend from Easter through to the end of September. Only a few public commemorations are held outside of this period (Table 6.2). The entire Marching Season consists of two groups of interlocking but distinct cycles; loyalist and nationalist groups do not share or contest any commemorative occasions, although some Orange lodges hold a church parade on the

sunday nearest to March 17 to acknowledge St Patrick's day (IN 18-3-85). Apart from the Twelfth of July, which is a

 TABLE 6.2. The Annual Cycle of Parades in Ulster. (All the major Parades but with an over emphasis on Belfast for the Orange Order mini Twelfth (M-12), parades.) The exact dates often vary from year to year, most are held on the nearest weekend.

	Loyalist	Nationalist
January 29		Bloody Sunday (Derry)
March 17		St Patricks Day
Easter Sun		Easter Rising
Mon	ABOD	
Tues	Junior LOL	
May 1st Sunday (Belfast)		Hunger Strikes
June 10	Carrickfergus	
10	Portadown M-12	
3rd Friday	N Belfast M-12	
20		Wolf Tone
(Bodenstown)		
4th Saturday	W Belfast M-12	
July 1	Somme Commemorations	
Sat before 12	Rosstownlagh (Donegal)	
	Scotland	
8	Ballynafeigh M-12	
11	Orange Church Parades	
12	Twelfth - 19 venues	
13	RBI Scarva + Lurgan	
August 1st Sun		INF Annual Parade
2nd Sun		Internment Parades
12th	ABOD Siege of Derry	
	RBI Newtownbutler	
15th		AOH - Lady Day
Last Saturday	RBI - six venues	
December 18	ABOD Closing Gates	

 Bank Holiday, most loyalist parades are held on the Saturday nearest the anniversary or in the evening during the week. Only church parades are held on a Sunday which is idealised as a purely religious day. In contrast, Sunday is

used by Catholics as the principal day for both religious observance and recreation. Sunday Mass in the morning is followed by an afternoon of sports and relaxation, or on the appropriate occasions, with public commemorations and political demonstrations. The two cycles of commemorations only rarely coincide, as the two communities parade on distinct and mutually exclusive anniversaries, on different days of the week and they rarely even parade over the same routes or through the same towns. The rest of this chapter discusses the broader loyalist parading calendar while the next one considers the nationalist parading tradition.

THE LOYALIST MARCHING SEASON.

The eighteen Twelfth of July parades are all very similar in form and content; they vary only in small details and in the scale of the proceedings from the description of the Belfast parade in the previous chapter. In the country there are fewer lodges at each parade, and the length of the route taken to the Field is usually a lot shorter than in Belfast. The main proceedings of the day therefore start later and finish earlier, but, as many lodges have to travel to the venue from some distance away, the overall day is no shorter for the walkers. There are fewer "blood and thunder" bands outside of Belfast, and more silver or melody flute bands who play softer rhythms with a high standard of musicianship rather than striving for harsh percussiveness. One also finds bagpipe bands in full highland costume and lambeg drummers (truly monstrous war drums played with a cane and with a sound like a machine gun) on country parades, both of which have been excluded from Belfast because they slow the long procession down too much. Many of the changes on the Belfast parade have been slow to filter through to the other urban centres and to the rural lodges. There remains a more conservative reliance on tradition in the form of these rural parades.

The Orange Institution parades are concentrated into the two or three week's build up to the anniversary of the Boyne. Many towns hold mini-Twelfth parades around the time of the Somme commemorations, and these are increasingly popular, as more districts announce a preparatory parade each year. These are usually evening events and amount to little more than a relaxed stroll around the host town. They are social rather than commemorative occasions but they always draw large crowds onto the streets and attract visiting lodges from nearby towns and villages. On the Saturday before the Twelfth, the County Donegal Orangemen host a parade at the small seaside resort of Rosstown. Local lodges from the Republic attend but so do large numbers of Orangemen from Northern Ireland, making a symbolic gesture to those brethren that were abandoned to the demands of pragmatic politics in the 1920s when 9 county Ulster was partitioned to ensure a permanent Protestant majority in the new northern statelet. On the same weekend some Ulster Orangemen and bands make the journey to Scotland where a number of Orange parades are held in the Strathclyde region. On the return they are accompanied by Scots bandsmen, and sometimes Scots Orange lodges, who come over to parade in Belfast on the Twelfth. The reciprocal network of affiliations which are extended the length and breadth of the north on the Twelfth are therefore further extended, to include brethren in both Ireland and Scotland.

The Junior Orange lodges also hold a series of parades throughout the year. Their main event held on Easter Tuesday was begun in the 1930s as a means of countering the publicity for the Republican cause generated by their parades to mark the Easter Rising. Many adult Orangemen accompany the juniors and join in the parade, and adult bands provide the music, the event is a chance to give the juniors a day out, the parades being held in seaside towns on the Down or Antrim coast. A growth in the membership of

the Junior Orange Institution has led to a parallel growth in the number of junior parades; from 1994 only Belfast lodges paraded at Easter with the Antrim juniors opting for a separate parade in early June. By such methods the marching season continues to expand.

Apart from the Somme parades, all the major loyalist commemorations mark anniversaries from the Williamite campaigns. These are held under the auspices of the Royal Black Institution and the Apprentice Boys of Derry. The Twelfth parades signify the climax of the Orange Order parades but they are immediately followed by the first of the Royal Black Institution parades. The Black Institution were formalised in the mid-nineteenth century as the senior branch of Orangeism. All Blackmen are in the Orange Order but not all Orangemen are in the Black. Their parades are broadly similar to Orange parades especially those in the rural areas, the main difference is in the almost exclusively religious iconography of the banners. On July 13 up to 50,000 visitors come to the parade and the Sham Fight at Scarva in County Down. The fight is a caricature recreation of the battle of the Boyne which has been held since the 1830s on a site at which the Williamite armies are reputed to have rested on their way south. After a break for the July holidays (the two weeks following the Twelfth were traditionally the time for industrial closures), the marching season recommences in mid-August with the Relief of Derry commemoration held by the Apprentice Boys and a series of Black parades. On the second Saturday the Fermanagh Blackmen commemorate the battle of Newtownbutler in 1689 when the Enniskillen garrison defeated the approaching Irish army, an event that in turn assisted the final relief of besieged Londonderry (Macrory 1988). The East Belfast and Sandy Row Black districts also hold local parades around their areas and over a similar route to the mini-Twelfths, but these are the only Black parades in the city. The final Black parades

are held on the last Saturday in August when six simultaneous demonstration take place. Five of these are county parades (Fermanagh's having already been held) and the sixth is the Belfast parade which is held outside the city at a venue in either County Antrim or County Down. The day does not herald any specific anniversary but rather marks a ceremonial end to the summer marching season.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF PARADING

Kertzer (1988 p23) has argued that the simultaneous enactment of ritual activities is a widely used mechanism through which peripheral groups are symbolically connected to the centre of political power. Geographically or socially marginal groups mirror the displays of the political or ritual centre and thereby affirm their place in an idealised unity. In Northern Ireland the Protestant ideology of individualistic egalitarianism obscures the role of a permanent centre; on the Twelfth of July and on the last Saturday in August there is no unifying centre which determines the ritual procedure or standards, but a multitude of decentralised events that incorporate the whole province within its scope. The parades simultaneously connect the entire unionist population of Northern Ireland in the process of public commemoration. But they do so without valuing one group of people, one locality or one parade venue over another, each locality that hosts a parade is on an equal footing. Belfast does host the biggest single event and attract much of the media coverage on the Twelfth but in contrast the city never hosts a major Black or Apprentice Boys parade. All the venues attract prominent public speakers from within the loyalist community, but the political heavyweights may choose, or be invited, to appear at any of the many venues. Ian Paisley (although he is not a member) parades each year with the small Independent Orange Order away from the centre of political importance in rural Antrim. Furthermore, the

decentralised nature of the organisation of the parades demands a constant rotation of the venues, this helps to consolidate the unity of Protestant Ulster by drawing a maximum number of people into participation and, because this custom draws on and reconfirms the egalitarian principles of Protestantism, it thereby confirms to the faithful that Ulster remains in essence a Protestant state for a Protestant people. Although the parades themselves commemorate military victories, the process of commemoration becomes interwoven with the threads of religious faith which each year are re-spun across the province.

The Twelfth of July remains the most powerful of symbols for the Protestant community. The day generates the biggest parades and crowds, the most colour and noise as well as the most disruption and protests. It remains the highlight of the parading calendar. It is THE event which marks the Ulster identity. The location of the Twelfth parades is therefore shared out across the province to include as many towns and villages as possible within the celebrations. The only place apart from Belfast to host an annual Twelfth parade is the staunchly Protestant town of Ballymena in the Democratic Unionist Party heartlands of mid-Antrim. Apart from these two fixed points each of the six Orange county organisations has its own routine for planning the location and the number of parades in its own area. The 17 venues outside Belfast are divided up as follows:

Co. Antrim.....	6
Co. Armagh.....	1
Co. Down.....	4
Co. Fermanagh.....	1
Co. Londonderry....	2
Co. Tyrone.....	3

Counties Armagh and Fermanagh have a single parade each year for all districts within their jurisdiction. In Armagh the parade rotates on an 11 year cycle around the principal settlements of the county. The other four counties hold

larger numbers of smaller parades at which participation is based at the lower district level of organisation. In County Down, for example, there are four parades in which the lodges from Newtownards, Upper Ards, Bangor and Holywood Districts from the north of the county walk together, the 15 Mourne District lodges in the south hold another parade, the eastern Districts of Lecale, Saintfield, Castlewellan, Comber and Ballynahinch hold another and the lodges from eight western Districts hold the fourth. By rotating the venues within each group of districts practical matters such as the organisational work and the cost of the day's commemorations are shared around. Large parades are shared around a greater number of venues and these costs are incurred only rarely; in County Armagh the parade has been held in 12 different venues in the past 26 years and no district has hosted the event on more than three occasions; whereas in an area like the Mourne District in which only a small number of villages are represented the parade returns on a much more regular cycle. Table 6.3 lists the venues of all the Twelfth parades, by county, in the 26 years of the Troubles. Like Co Armagh, many towns and villages host the event on a regular cycle, these range from a parade every two years for Kilkeel in the Mourne district to one every 10 years for Ballyclare. The majority of cyclical parade venues host the event on a cycle of between four and eight years.

Besides the practicalities that affect the rotating of parades, the scale of the distribution symbolically affirms Ulster's Protestant status. The insistence by the Orangemen that they have a right to walk anywhere in Northern Ireland, and that Ulster is primarily a Protestant province, is annually put into practice, and over a period of years the entire six counties is encapsulated within the recurring and expanding trace of "traditional" routes. Most towns and villages, regardless of the relative proportions of Protestant and Catholic inhabitants, will eventually

TABLE 6.3. LOCATION AND NUMBER OF TWELFTH PARADES SINCE 1968.

ANTRIM, 33 venues	DOWN, 37 venues	LONDONDERRY, 14 v
Aghalee.....4	Annalong.....6	Ballyronan.....2
Ahogill.....8	Ballygowan.....1	Bellaghy.....1
Antrim.....6	Ballyhalbert....1	Castledawson....1
Aughafatten....1	Ballymartin.....5	Coleraine.....7
Ballinderry....4	Ballynahinch....5	Garvagh.....3
Ballycastle....8	Banbridge.....8	Kilrea.....4
Ballyclare.....3	Bangor.....5	Limavady.....7
Ballygelly.....1	Braniel.....1	Londonderry.....7
Ballymena.....26	Carrowdore.....1	Macosquin.....2
Ballymoney.....9	Carryduff.....1	Maghera.....2
Broughshane....6	Castlewellan....2	Magherafelt....4
Buckna.....3	Comber.....5	Moneymore.....4
Bushmills.....5	Crossgar.....2	Portstewart....2
Carnlough.....4	Donacloney.....1	Tobermore.....3
Carnmoney.....2	Downpatrick....2	
Carrickfergus...3	Dromara.....2	TYRONE, 22 venues
Cloughmills....3	Dundrum.....2	Augher.....4
Crumlin.....2	Gilford.....3	Aughnacloy.....6
Cullybackey...10	Greyabbey.....1	Ballygawley.....7
Derriaghey.....4	Groomsport.....1	Benburb.....4
Dervock.....1	Hillsborough....4	Beragh.....3
Glenarm.....5	Holywood.....4	Castlecaulfield.4
Glenavy.....2	Kilkeel.....14	Castlederg.....3
Glengormley....1	Killyleagh.....1	Castlederry.....1
Larne.....6	Kircubbin.....1	Clogher.....5
Lisburn.....4	Loughbrickland..3	Coagh.....3
Mosside.....1	Millisle.....1	Cookstown.....5
Newtownabbey...1	Moirra.....2	Dromore.....3
Portglenone....12	Newcastle.....1	Dungannon.....4
Portrush.....1	Newry.....2	Fintona.....2
Randalstown....4	Newtownards....6	FiveMileTown...3
Rasharkin.....10	Portaferry.....2	Killen.....1
Stonyford.....1	Portavogie.....1	N'townstewart...5
	Rathfriland....3	Omagh.....4
ARMAGH, 12 venues	Saintfield.....3	Pomeroy.....4
Armagh.....2	Waringstown....1	SixMileCross...2
Bessbrook.....2	Warrenpoint....4	Stewartstown...4
Keady.....2		Strabane.....1
Kilmore.....1	FERMANAGH, 12 vs	
Killylea.....3	Ballinamallard..2	
Loughgall.....2	Brookeborough...3	
Lurgan.....2	Derrygonnelly...1	
Markethill.....3	Enniskillen....7	
N'hamilton.....3	Irvinestown....1	
Portadown.....3	Kesh.....2	
Richhill.....3	Lisbelaw.....3	
Tandragee.....2	Lisnaskea.....2	
	Maguiresbridge..3	
	Newtownbutler...1	
	Tempo.....1	

host a parade which will thereby confirm their symbolic Protestant status.

Orangemen claim that being able to walk along traditional routes is an essential feature of their civil rights. Any challenge to this is seen as symptomatic of a creeping influence of Dublin and of the threat of compromise over the status of Northern Ireland. The range of towns and villages that are regularly paraded implies that these rights are being actively maintained, and that nowhere is abandoned as an integral part of Protestant Ulster. In practice it seems more complicated.

Some of these venues have not been walked on the Twelfth since the early 1970s but are maintained as traditional routes by hosting other parades. In County Fermanagh, an area in which the Orange Standard regularly claims that Protestants are being hounded out of their farms in the remoter border areas ("ethnically cleansed" in their current language), one third of the venues have not been used in recent years, the Twelfth parades have been concentrated in fewer, larger and safer towns. But the Black parades in early August, which do not generate such strong emotions as the Twelfth, continue to be held across a wide range of venues. Similarly Strabane, which is close to the Irish border and has strong nationalist traditions, has not hosted a Twelfth since 1971 but was the venue for a Black parade in 1982. Some smaller venues can be regarded as traditional through hosting Black parades on the last Saturday in August; these include Claudy in Co.Derry, Sion Mills near Strabane, Moy on the Tyrone-Armagh border and Dromore and Donaghadee in Co.Down. Once the wider range of parades and the complex patterns of sharing the venues around are drawn out, the settlements that are voluntarily excluded from the parading network are few indeed.

Nevertheless, there are some. Most of the places that have not hosted a major loyalist parade are on the margins of the province and appear to have no great symbolic significance to the Protestants. They are either geographically isolated or surrounded by towns and villages that do hold parades and can thus be overlooked without causing an affront to Protestant traditions. These include Cushendall and Whitehead on the Antrim coast; Strangford and Ballywalter on the Ards peninsular; Ardglass, Killough and Rostrevor on the South Down coast; Crossmaglen and Middletown on the Armagh border and Belleek on the Fermanagh border. The towns of Coalisland in Tyrone and Dungiven in Co.Derry are the only other substantial places that have been parade free, although Carnmoney and Maghera have not hosted parades since the early 1970s. All of these are towns and villages with an overwhelmingly Catholic and nationalist population and this seems to be discretely acknowledged as a significant fact by the Orangemen in spite of the rhetoric of walking where they will.

Only one area falls outside of this pattern whereby only marginalised or strongly nationalist places are excluded from the parading cycle, and that is the valley of the River Blackwater which marks the boundary between Counties Armagh and Tyrone. The valley begins at Middletown in the south, a heavily fortified town that guards the border with County Monaghan and moving northwards includes the small settlements of Tynan, Caledon, Dyan, Benburb, Blackwaterstown, Moy and Charlemont. None of these has any special significance today but many feature prominently in the emergence and early history of Orangeism. Dyan holds warrant No 1 of the Orange Institution, Charlemont was the home of the Verner Family which supplied many prominent leaders and supporters of the Order in its early days, and parades regularly congregated on the Verner estate. Likewise Caledon and Middletown appear regularly in the early reports of Twelfth celebrations. The valley then has

some symbolic significance in the origins of the Orange tradition. But none of these places has hosted parades recently, and only Benburb is used as a regular Twelfth venue. This is a town of no significance to the Orangemen although it was the site a battle won by the Irish forces of the Confederation of Kilkenny led by Owen Roe O'Neill in 1646, their last victory before Oliver Cromwell arrived on Irish soil. The regular holding of parades in Benburb can perhaps be seen as a means by which the memory of this military defeat is wiped out and at the same time the town is denied to nationalists as a location for their memories. Its liminal status as a boundary zone may well be a factor in the absence of parades from these settlements and which allows the valley to exist in some kind of symbolic limbo, as a space where memories are denied and ignored rather than actively used by either side. It will be interesting to see whether the 200th anniversary of the Orange Institution in 1995 leads to a change in the status of the Blackwater valley.

CONTESTING SPACE.

Although some nationalist towns seem to be acknowledged as inappropriate venues by the loyal orders, an overwhelming or dominant Catholic population need not be regarded as a deterrent if the Institution decide a venue is part of a traditional Orange route. Keady in Co.Armagh and Pomeroy in Co.Tyrone, both of which have a 95% Catholic population, have hosted parades in recent years (Belfast Telegraph 11-7-89). In 1991 a last minute judicial review was ordered on an RUC decision to authorise the parade through Pomeroy, an event which occurs every 7 years. After permission was finally given to allow the parade to go ahead, the Orange Institution amended their route slightly to avoid an area which was described as "predominately nationalist" (BT 11-7-91, 12-7-91). A massive security operation was mounted to protect the estimated 10,000 marchers. In most of these

cases the RUC have been prepared to authorise Orange parades even in the face of stiff local opposition, and have emphasised the Institution's own arguments that the practice is traditional, that it is not meant to cause offence or that the parade will not take very long or cause much disruption. On such occasions an appeal is often made to the memory of previous parades which have passed peacefully or to nostalgic recollections of those days, before the Troubles, when Catholics enjoyed watching the Orangemen pass by. Only very rarely are the opponents argument's upheld and even then some form of compromise that favours the Orangemen is usually enforced.

Since 1985 a concerted dispute has arisen over the Orangemen's right to march through part of Portadown, Co. Armagh, both en route to the main parade on the Twelfth of July and on other local parading days (Bryan, Fraser and Dunn 1995). Local residents have consistently opposed marches through the nationalist Tunnel area and along Garvaghy Road, while the Orangemen insist that their routes are "traditional" and therefore they should cause no offence. When the Twelfth parade was banned from the Tunnel area, the Portadown Orangemen cancelled plans to join the main parade in Tandragee and instead chose to stage a protest in Portadown, this quickly descended into a violent clash between police and loyalists (BT 6-7, 11-7, 12-7, 3-8- 1985). After the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed in November 1985, Ulster loyalists became increasingly concerned about their status and future and about a perceived growing Dublin involvement in affairs in the north, the banning or rerouting of traditional parades became seen as a product of a growing Dublin involvement in Ulster's affairs. The following July it was decided to allow the pre-Twelfth church parade to take the traditional route, but on the Twelfth itself all parades were banned from the disputed area. A nationalist parade that was proposed for the same period was banned by the RUC because

it was not deemed to be "traditional". The church parade on July 6 ended in violence, as Orangemen again clashed with the RUC officers and the proposed ban on the Twelfth parade then became a trial of strength. Ian Paisley declared it an "inalienable right" for a Protestant to walk wherever he so wished. Eventually a compromise was reached, in which Orangemen were banned from walking through the Tunnel area while a small section of the parade was allowed to walk along the Garvaghy Road en route to join the main body. Nevertheless fighting broke out in Portadown on the eleventh night, as the holiday celebrations began and again at a Royal Black Preceptory parade on the 14th July (BT 4-7, 7-7, 8-7, 12-7, 14-7-1986). Portadown was the most explosive venue in these two years, but violence broke out at a number of other places including Downpatrick, Keady and in east and north Belfast, as parade routes were disputed. The clashes in Portadown drew attention to an increasingly common feature of the commemorative cycle in Ulster, the loyalist's insistence of their right to parade along "traditional" routes and a growing vocal opposition, in some cases from a product of a more assertive nationalist community and in others from a changed demographic base. Disputes in the Tunnel area of Portadown date back to the late nineteenth century, but the residents in the Garvaghy Road area have only recently attempted to assert their perceived rights as the nationalist population in the wider area increased. Orangemen have always insisted on maintaining their traditional rights, but were unwilling to recognise the changing residential and demographic patterns that increasingly affect the nature of their parading routes. In 1988 as the dispute continued, although at a lower level of antagonism, the Orangemen were allowed to march down the Garvaghy Road but remained banned from the Tunnel. The Orangemen accepted the RUC order and changed the "historical route for the first time in more than 150 years" (BT 11-7-1988). The dispute continues, however, and each year the local residents of Garvaghy Road

still repeat their request to have the Orange parades banned from their neighbourhood (2).

PARADING IN DERRY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TROUBLES.

The virulence with which the Orangemen pursue their perceived rights with regards to parades and commemorations is not extended to the nationalist community or those who are perceived to be enemies of Ulster. This distinction can be exemplified by a brief consideration of the recent parading history of Derry. The resistance to the Jacobite forces and the Siege of Derry in 1688-89 has given the city a symbolic status unlike any other place in Ireland (Macrory 1988 gives a full historical account). The Siege provides the logic and rationale that underpins the loyalist motto of "No Surrender"; it confirms the dictum that remaining true to one's faith and principles will prove right in the end. The actions of the 13 apprentice boys in shutting the gates shows the importance of decisive action from below when those in authority are dithering. It confirms that standing alone does not mean that one is in the wrong. The resistance exemplifies the importance of unity in adversity and illustrates that leadership and example must be provided by churchmen as much as by soldiers and thereby entwines moral ideals and practical action. The Siege therefore provides the example and metaphor for Protestant resolve in the face of adversity. But it also provides the model for the collective insecurities and uncertainties of the Protestants, the fear of betrayal, the threat from within in the embodiment of the individual who is willing to trust the opposition, who undermines unity and resolve, who is prepared to compromise and argue the logic of surrender. These weaknesses are embodied by the figure of Governor Lundy, who, when rejected by inhabitants of the city in 1689, sneaked out of the walled city at night in disguise and into timeless opprobrium.

The Siege remains important not only as an historical event but as the metaphor for their current situation. It provided the foundation for the Protestant model of the political system in partitioned Ulster, fear the enemy within, exclude them from power, authority and decision making. The Protestants feel they are still under siege from the nationalist ideal and from Dublin, and if the horror of being branded a Lundy has helped to hold the community together, the fear of betrayal by the government in London remains. But like most towns in the north, Derry was and is structured by sectarian divisions (Lacy 1990). With steady growth in the 19th century the old city on the west bank of the River Foyle became surrounded by a predominately Catholic population, the city walls around which the Apprentice Boys used to parade, overlook the Catholic Bogside. The Waterside, east of the river remained largely Protestant. These historic divisions have hardened in the past twenty five years as more Protestants have left the Cityside, only a small community now remains in the Fountain area adjacent to the Cathedral.

Although the city had a Catholic majority, gerrymandering of the local government wards ensured Unionist control of the city council. After partition Derry was cut off from its natural hinterland and the gerrymandering became more blatant, as Unionists determined to retain control of the city in spite of the large nationalist majority (Doak 1978). The city also came therefore to obtain a special significance to the nationalists as a symbol of their second class status, unwillingly excluded from a united Ireland, they were now also excluded from running their own city.

The Apprentice Boys celebrate the events of 1688-89 with two annual parades. In December a small, local affair marks the anniversary of the Closing of the Gates by the 13 apprentice boys and in mid-August a major public

commemoration, second only to the Twelfth in importance, marks the lifting of the Siege. In times of political tension these anniversaries provoked violent clashes as the Catholic majority was reminded of their inferior status and imprisoned in their homes by the triumphalist celebrations and parades of the Apprentice Boys around the walls overlooking the Bogside. In the post-war period the Siege celebrations grew in scale almost annually, while for the Catholic population Derry became synonymous with discrimination. The prelude to the outbreak of the Troubles was marked by the growth of a campaign for equal civil rights for the Catholic population of the six counties, access to housing and jobs being the key issues. The Northern Irish campaign was initially a broad movement that drew loosely on the practices of Black civil rights movement in the USA. It used non-violent resistance and direct action to draw attention to its demands. It was a series of public parades beginning in August 1968 which demonstrated that the distinction between the two communities went beyond mere matters of law or of public policy and were inscribed in the very streets of Ulster. The civil rights demonstrations aimed to be non-sectarian but this proved to be an unobtainable ideal in practice and the parades generated animosity, fear and levels of violence that finally illuminated and laid bare the naked aggression that underlay the rule of law in Ulster. A reaction that finally transformed the campaign for civil rights into a virtual civil war.

In August 1968 the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) held a march from Coalisland to Dungannon to draw attention to discriminatory housing policy in County Tyrone. The parade was prevented from entering the centre of Dungannon by a large crowd of loyalists who categorised it as a nationalist demonstration which was "intent on invading Protestant territory" (Bardon 1992 p 653). The RUC, which was then, and still is,

overwhelmingly Protestant, forced the rally to be held on the outskirts of the town, refusing access to the centre. Another march organised by the Derry Housing Action Committee was planned for October 5 1968. The intention was to assemble at the railway station on the largely Protestant east bank of the river and march across the Craigavon Bridge into the Diamond and the heart of the walled city. The Apprentice Boys promptly announced that they would be holding an "annual parade" over the same route and at the same time. This was a tactic that had been widely used by loyalists in the past as a means of preventing nationalist parades, and, on October 3, the government duly announced that both parades would be banned. The DHAC and NICRA decided their parade would go ahead and about 400 people turned up including a number of Stormont and Westminster MPs. The RUC blocked the route and tried to prevent the marchers taking a different road on to the bridge. At Duke Street clashes broke out as the police stopped the marchers and tried to disperse them with their batons, a water canon was also used indiscriminately. As some of the marchers reached the city centre the violence spread as youths from the nearby Bogside joined in, this continued sporadically through the next day. Some 77 civilians and 4 policemen were injured. It is clear that the Apprentice Boys regarded the walled city as their city and off limits to the NICRA parade, and they achieved their immediate aims of stopping the march.

In spite of widespread media coverage and criticism of the handling of the events, the Northern Irish government defended the police action and accused the NICRA of being a republican and communist front, but the highly visible police violence also brought a massive increase in support for NICRA (McCann 1980, Purdie 1990). Although the parade failed in its objective, a number of concessions were won including the replacement of the elected city Corporation by an appointed commission. However, another march planned

for Armagh in November was prevented from going ahead when Ian Paisley led a group of loyalists armed with clubs and other weapons to occupy the centre of the city. But the civil rights protest had by now built up a head of steam and public protests and demonstrations continued.

In January about 80 members and supporters of the left wing People's Democracy group set off to march from Belfast to Derry. They were harried and jeered at all opportunities by a group of loyalists and forced to change their route when the loyalists blocked the road at various points. Finally at Burntollet Bridge, a few miles from Derry, the marchers were ambushed with stones and bottles and the loyalists attacked with iron bars and sundry other objects. The police failed to offer any protection to the marchers and a number of the assailants were later identified as members of the B Special Reserve. The same evening as the marchers finally reached Derry a group of RUC reserve officers ran riot through the Bogside. Next morning barricades were erected for the first time and a gable wall proclaimed "You Are Now Entering Free Derry" (McCann 1980 p53). The barricades were soon removed but a week later another civil rights march in Newry erupted into rioting.

Prime Minister Terence O'Neill offered reforms to the Catholics but this only antagonised loyalists even more and in April, he resigned. Violence flared sporadically as the non-violent principles of the NICRA were ignored by working class youths eager to release frustration, resentment and anger. In Belfast the interface between the Protestant and the Catholic districts was the major point of tension and violence was widespread on and after the Twelfth of July 1968. But the climax to a year of increasing tension and polarisation over the right to march was in Derry as the Apprentice Boys paraded to mark the relief of the Siege on August 12. Tension was high in the city and barricading material had been gathered in the Bogside. Widespread calls

to have the parade banned were ignored and the expected violence soon began as stones and bottles were exchanged between the Bogside and the loyalists. Police who tried to move into the Bogside were met with petrol bombs and bricks, after midnight CS gas was used for the first time but the battle continued. At 4.15pm on August 14 after two days of continuous fighting the British army was called onto the streets and the RUC were removed. In Derry hundreds of people had been injured and in Belfast people were being killed in the clashes. On August 15, troops arrived on the Belfast streets.

There was a honeymoon period of some months during which time the British army were welcomed and accepted in Catholic areas. But the violence rumbled on when the marching season began at easter 1970 Orange parades in Belfast provoked more sustained rioting in both Protestant and Catholic areas. The IRA (now split into Provisional and Official wings) became more active and gun battles and bombings became widespread (Bardon 1992 p 678). But, when a 3 day blanket ban on parades was announced in early July, John Bryan, the Grand Master of the Orange Institution, declared it to be "unthinkable" to ban Orange parades and that it would bring Ulster "to the edge of a revolution" (BT 4-7-1970). The Twelfth parades were allowed to go ahead after Prime Minister Chichester-Clark had declared on a BBC Panorama programme that they were not provocative (BT 7-7-1970). Although these passed peacefully, no chances were taken with the Apprentice Boys parade in Derry and in late July a 6 months ban was imposed on all parades. The only time such celebrations had been stopped since the Northern Ireland state was established.

Parades did not cause the Troubles, but they proved critical at opening up the fracture zones in Ulster life that had been obscured and ignored for so long. Protestants felt that the right to parade was their prerogative and

their heritage, while for the Catholics the Orange parades were both an affront and a constant reminder of their second class status. The annual Apprentice Boys parade round the city walls and the ceremonial burning of Lundy from a position overlooking the Bogside drove home the point that despite the Catholic majority, Derry would remain a Protestant city. They were not only excluded as Catholics from loyalist parades but also stopped from holding their own events. For while loyalists insisted on their inalienable right to parade wherever and whenever they wished, this right was not extended to Catholics. Civil rights parades did not fit into the traditional polarities but by challenging the authority of the Protestant state and demanding equal rights for the minority they were immediately categorised as Catholic and nationalist. After the Coalisland to Dungannon parade in August 1968 had been excluded from the centre of Dungannon, Bernadette Devlin stated:

I do believe that then for the first time it dawned on people that Northern Ireland was a series of Catholic and Protestant ghettos (quoted in Bardon 1992 p 653).

This situation did not just happen by chance and did not remain as part of the natural and inevitable flow of life in Ulster. It was maintained, practically by the systems of discrimination that were beginning to be challenged, and symbolically by the practice of parading. The civil rights parades were instrumental in clarifying these divisions and drawing attention to them to a wider audience. The parades became more contentious than the political reforms as they became a visible symbol of the Catholic nationalist challenge to the state.

PART TWO, CHAPTER 7.
NATIONALIST COMMEMORATIONS AND PARADES.

Protest parades supported by members of the Catholic community were the spark that set off the "Troubles". They proved contentious because they made explicit and challenged the divisions within Northern Irish society. However, these civil rights parades were not the only public events supported by the community, commemorative parades are still a prominent feature of the Catholic and nationalist social calendar, although they rarely achieve the scale of publicity as the loyalist parades.

The three bodies which organise nationalist commemorative parades are the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Irish National Foresters and the Republican Movement. The AOH and INF date back to the 19th century; they are survivors of the widespread network of fraternal societies and brotherhoods that was found among working people in Ireland (and Britain) at this time (Buckley nd, Buckley and Anderson 1988). Both groups are broadly nationalist and support the ideal of a United Ireland, but neither offers any support for the current armed struggle of the IRA. Instead they ground their ideals in the nationalist practices and heroes of the past. The visual displays of the AOH espouse the ideal of an Irish nationalism inseparable from the Roman Catholic religion and valorise the military heroes of the 16th and 17th centuries who fought wars premised on distinctions of faith, and which pre-dated a politicised national identity. The INF in turn draw on a later tradition, on the aims and ideals of the

18th and 19th century Irish rebels, and in particular on those who were able to transcend the "faith of their fathers" for broader political ideals. Both groups operate today as interest groups within the constitutional political field, and although they may appear marginalised within the dominant political discourse about the future of Northern Ireland, they provide an important indicator of the variations of emphasis within contemporary nationalism.

Sinn Fein in contrast are a legal political party and, as the most public face of the republican movement, are openly involved in public commemorative parades in a way that other political parties are not. The republican movement is broader than Sinn Fein and includes individuals and groups who distinguish themselves from the party. Republican commemorations are often organised under the auspices of the broader movement or by named local groupings, rather than advertised as a Sinn Fein event. Their commemorations acknowledge the debt to late 18th century Irish Nationalism and emphasise the roots of their movement in the events of Easter 1916, but the majority of their public commemorations are linked to events that are the product of the contemporary Troubles which are seen as a continuation of the unfinished tradition.

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS.

The Hibernians are the nearest Catholic equivalent to the Orange Institution, they are sometimes described as "Green Orangemen". Membership is restricted to Roman Catholics and much of its public ritual, regalia and display are similar in form and style to Orange practices. Although they claim an ancestry dating back to the 16th and 17th centuries (Hibernian Journal 1967) the contemporary organisation emerged in the middle of last century, when it replaced the Ribbonmen as the defender of rural Catholic interest. For a time it remained a secret organisation and membership was

forbidden by the Roman Catholic Church. This ban was only lifted in 1904. By 1901 the AOH had an estimated 8,000 members with the majority of its support coming from Ulster. Under the influence of Joe Devlin, Nationalist Party MP for West Belfast, the AOH grew rapidly and became a powerful and conservative force within constitutional nationalism. The AOH organised and managed a wide range of social events and various insurance schemes and thus helped to consolidate its base in urban Ulster. However, after the Easter Rising of 1916, support swung away from the constitutional nationalism towards Sinn Fein and with partition the influence of the AOH declined rapidly. The friendly society side of its work continued but with the establishment of state insurance schemes in both Ireland and Britain the role of the AOH declined further still. In Ulster it survived as an extra parliamentary body which espoused an increasingly conservative and Catholic nationalism (Boyce 1991, Foy 1976, Phoenix 1994).

In recent years the AOH has picked up in numbers and now claims around 12,000 members for its benefit services. Active membership remains strongest in Counties Antrim, Derry and Tyrone, and in the Irish border counties of Donegal, Cavan and Louth. Many branches have a hall or club that is used for social functions and thereby continue to provide a necessary resource in many towns and rural areas. The AOH divisions are largely made up of older men although a younger membership continues to be drawn in through participation in the marching bands, which remain a part of the AOH structure. These bands have developed in a different direction from loyalist bands; instead of the paramilitary iconography and uniforms they have adopted the styles of American marching bands. They are often fronted by a dozen or more young women and girls who wear majorette style uniforms and twirl pom-poms. These then lead a small band of accordionists or flautists while an often elderly bass drummer beats out a gentle rhythm. Many of the tunes

are similar to those played at Orange parades, but their performance has none of the machismo of the loyalist bandsmen.

Local AOH divisions hold church parades at various times of the year but the main AOH parades are held on St Patrick's Day (March 17) and Lady Day (August 15). St Patrick is the patron saint of Ireland and public processions of some form have been held on March 17th since at least the early 19th century, with more informal celebrations pre-dating these. The day has long been treated as a holiday of some sort and as a celebration of Irishness, "drowning the shamrock" remains a prominent feature of the day's proceedings. Lady Day in August, has been a part of the nationalist calendar since the 1870s, the day is dedicated to Mary, mother of Jesus, a figure who retains particular significance for Irish catholics (Allen 1992, Taylor 1995).

In recent years the AOH have held a single parade in Northern Ireland and sometimes one in County Donegal on each day. The style of the parades are broadly similar to the loyalist parades that have already been discussed. The major difference is in the scale of the events as AOH parades are small affairs, although they still attract an enthusiastic audience. AOH parades tend to be restricted to the afternoon rather than lasting all day, usually they involve only a short walk to a field and then a brief platform ceremony, without any religious service (mass is taken privately in the morning), before breaking up into a social event. There is no return march. At Draperstown, in March 1993, the procession took barely an hour to walk from one end of the small town to a field at the other end, while the platform proceedings were being completed just as the final band arrived. A republican band who attempted to join on the end of the parade arrived only as most people were leaving the field. The rest of the afternoon was spent in drinking and socialising in the bar on the main street.

In mid-March the Irish weather can be less than inviting, and in Draperstown the day was grey and overcast and growing darker as the drinking began. In 1995, at Toome, the weather was even worse and although the parade began during a break in the hail and rain, the walkers and watchers were soaked long before the end. This shortened order of events also extends to the August parades where the field proceedings are again kept to a minimum, although the parade is usually over a longer route.

The AOH regalia and the style of their banners draw on the same tradition as the Orange Institution, and the overall proceedings of their anniversary days are similar. Through the 1950s and 60s, before the Troubles began, the AOH commemorations were used to make major political speeches from the platform which were reported in detail in the Irish News, but nowadays although mild calls for peace and unification are made, the platform is not used for major statements. In July 1970, all parades were banned for a six month period and the following year the AOH imposed a voluntary ban on their members parading. This was lifted in 1975 but it was never fully supported by members. In 1971 a new banner was unfurled at Ballerin, Co.Derry on St Patrick's Day, amid protests at the decision to cancel formal parades and some form of public commemoration was held each year while the ban was in force (IN 18-3-1971). In 1974, AOH divisions paraded in at least 7 venues and the following year when the ban was lifted they were held at 20 centres across counties Antrim, Derry and Tyrone (IN 18-3-1974, 18-3-1975). In 1978 an estimated 10,000 people attended the parade in Kilrea and heard the resolution call for "the peaceful reunification of Ireland" (IN 16-8-78). However since this time the scale of the proceedings has dropped to, at most, 20 divisions parading at a single location.

AOH parades have generally remained peaceful and uncontentious, although sporadic clashes occurred at the August parades through the 1980s when the Republican hunger strikes and the Anglo-Irish Agreement helped generate greater tension. An uninvited band dressed in paramilitary style clothing were blamed for disturbances at Draperstown in 1980, and again at Magherafelt in 1984 and at Ballerin in 1985. On all these occasions the trouble began as the RUC moved into remove the "offensive" Irish tricolours. Two years later there were numerous tricolours carried on the parade and one was flown from the platform; the AOH may be a conservative body but the tricolour remains a potent symbol. The platform speakers called for a United Ireland but they also spoke against violence and for improved relations with the Protestants (IN 16-8-80, 16-8-84, 16-8-85, 16-8-86). In recent years at least one Republican band has attended the AOH parades and their black uniforms, dark glasses and strident rhythms create a stark contrast to the predominately female AOH bands, but they no longer attract the attention of the RUC.

While AOH conservatism and appeasement were being challenged from within the broader nationalist community, they were still regarded with antagonism by the loyalists. TABLE 7.1 lists the venues of the main AOH parades since the start of the Troubles. These 21 venues are overwhelmingly in the western counties of Ulster (Derry and Tyrone) and most venues in Antrim are in the west of the county. The AOH have not paraded in County Fermanagh since the Troubles began, and only once in County Armagh and twice in County Down, and these were all in recent years. Of the 21 AOH venues, 11 have not hosted a major Twelfth parade since the Troubles began. The segregation of the two communities extends therefore to the practice of parading, the Hibernians are largely reduced to marching in the gaps left by the Orangemen. While this pattern to some extent reflects the strengths of the Hibernians, whose membership

is strongest in the west of the province where Catholics are in a majority, it is also part of their strategy of trying to stand outside of the conflict and trying not to provoke trouble. This has only worked to an extent, for when Hibernians have been felt by loyalists to be stepping out of their own areas and parading in or near loyalist towns, trouble has ensued.

 Table 7.1. Venues of Major AOH parades since 1969. (Twelfth of July parades in same period in brackets.)

Draperstown (Derry)	6 (0)
Coalisland (Tyrone)	4 (0)
Dungiven (Derry)	4 (0)
Maghera (Derry)	4 (2)
Toome (Antrim)	3 (0)
Carnlough (Antrim)	2 (4)
Kilrea (Derry)	2 (4)
Magherafelt (Derry)	2 (4)
Rasharkin (Antrim)	2 (10)
Swartragh (Derry)	2 (0)
Ardboe (Tyrone)	1 (0)
Armoy (Antrim)	1 (0)
Ballerin (Derry)	1 (0)
Ballycastle (Antrim)	1 (8)
Bellaghy (Derry)	1 (1)
Blackwaterstown (Armagh)	1 (0)
Cushendall (Antrim)	1 (0)
Derry	1 (7)
Downpatrick (Down)	1 (2)
Dungannon (Tyrone)	1 (4)
Feeny (Derry)	1 (0)
Garvagh (Derry)	1 (3)
Newry (Down)	1 (2)

 In 1979 violent scuffles broke out when loyalists protested as AOH members used Larne as a point of arrival for their parade at Carnlough, a Hibernian band were stoned when passing through Portglenone in 1982 and at Garvagh in 1985 the AOH coaches were stoned after the parade (BT 15-8-79, IN 18-3-1982, IN 16-8-85). Scuffles and stone throwing again broke out in Armoy in 1989, as loyalist women heckled the first Hibernian parade in the town for 35 years (IN 16-8-89). Loyalists were clearly unwilling to see nationalists

of any hue parading through their towns. But more recently the Hibernian parades have not attracted the opposition of previous years and they have been able to march in a wider range of locations. County Armagh was used as a parade venue in August 1987 for the first time since the Troubles began, and in the last few years the AOH have returned to parading in some of the larger towns albeit those with a large nationalist population. Downpatrick was the August venue in 1992 and Newry in 1994, while in 1993 they were able to hold their first ever Lady day parade in Derry, a city with a large AOH membership and social club. The AOH parade was held the day after the Apprentice Boys celebrated the raising of the siege of Derry, but both parades passed peacefully.

IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS.

The Irish National Foresters are a friendly society. They were formed in 1877 after a split within the established Ancient Order of Foresters by a group of "more nationally-minded" members (Buckley 1987 p 53), although the precipitating incident was concern over the continuation of their annual parade (John Campbell pers comm). By 1911 they were the largest friendly society in Ireland and were widely established in smaller towns and rural areas, where they provided sickness benefits and funeral expenses. In 1919 they had at least 9 branches in Belfast and many more in Ulster, where membership was strongest in the southern counties of Armagh, Down and East Tyrone, a bias that continues today. The Foresters are a nationalist organisation, their 1921 annual convention pledged allegiance to the Dail in Dublin and the Irish state. They are non-sectarian, but membership is restricted to those who are Irish by birth or descent, and this has meant that they largely draw on the Catholic population. The names of the branches in Dublin and the north of Ireland in existence in 1919 shows that they drew inspiration

extensively from the pantheon of heroes of Irish nationalism: Sarsfield, Parnell, Brian Boru, Napper Tandy, Thomas Russell, Robert Emmett, William Orr and John Mitchel all had branches named after them, but Catholic saints and various religious figures were also extremely popular.

Partition and state insurance schemes affected the size of membership, but the organisation survived and continues today to provide insurance and, as with the AOH, many branches of the INF own halls and run social centres. The Foresters also uphold the tradition of friendly societies as parading bodies, perhaps the last to do so. In the 1960s the INF were a more integral part of the broader nationalist movement and paraded in Belfast on St Patrick's day and at Easter commemorations. The local Belfast division is still occasionally reported at large parades (see IN 18-3-1988) and small parades are held in some venues on St Patrick's day, but their main parade is held at the time of their national convention at the end of July or beginning of August. This convention usually alternates between venues in the north and in the Republic. In recent years these parades have been held at Ballyholland, Co Down in 1995, Hilltown, Co Down in 1994 and Lurgan, Co Armagh in 1992. Many local branches in Northern Ireland also hold annual local parades on St Patrick's Day and during the summer months. This is particularly so in the towns and villages of south Down and south Armagh which are close to the border and have a largely nationalist population. INF parades are similar in scale to those of the AOH with some 15 branches represented by their banners. Their regalia and bands are comparable to those of the Hibernians and the parade is a similar short affair, although it is held earlier in the day and the route takes the members to a local church for Sunday mass in the midst of the weekend convention.

The parades of the AOH and the INF are very similar in style, form and scale, but they draw on two distinct strands of ideals and attitudes within the nationalist community. This variation is not apparent from the rhetoric of the parade as a performance, but only becomes apparent through consideration of the visual displays of flags and banners. As with the Protestant groups, an analysis of the parades as parades can only tell part of the story. The Hibernian and Forester parades appear similar to Orange parades, of which they seem to be little more than a simplified or atrophied version, since they are performed on a small scale and reduced to a single location. But these nationalist parades no longer evoke the war-like rhetoric of the Orange parades, the drums do not beat as fiercely, the uniforms have none of the paramilitary overtones and the parade does not re-present or re-create the battle march. Orange and green parades are similar in style but they are not mirror images, since the rhetoric of the respective performances are different.

They nevertheless draw on common practice, which serves to re-affirm the unity of a scattered community and to map that identity over a wide terrain. Although this sense of communal territory is much reduced in size compared with the Protestant ideal, it still exists in those spaces that loyalists acknowledge as outside their domain. It is a parallel spatialised identity interlocked with, but rarely intersecting with, Protestant Ulster. In some cases, Derry and Lurgan are recent examples, both communities have paraded through a town or city in the same Marching Season, but not on the same day and they never occupy the same routes, the same streets or the same public spaces. The loyalists claim the central area and nationalists skirt the boundaries. Even when the town is comprised of equal proportions of both communities, there is a division and segregation rather than a sharing of space. And, as we have seen, nationalists are not welcomed if they attempt to

parade outside of their designated areas. Loyalists are only prepared to cede space on the margins of the Protestant state (1).

REPUBLICAN PARADES.

Traditional nationalist parades have proved to be largely uncontentious in recent years, but republican commemorations, which perpetuate the memory of people who oppose the very existence of the Northern Irish state, have regularly provoked the wrath of loyalists and have been subjected to very heavy policing and security constraints. In many respects the importance of groups like the Hibernians and Foresters have declined as the republican movement has become more prominent in public street protests and commemorations and, while the AOH have avoided challenges to loyalists over the issue of parading republicans have been keen to seize on the issue to confront the inequalities between towns and streets where loyalists are allowed to parade and where nationalists can. The recent Hibernian parades in Derry and Downpatrick must therefore be viewed within the context of more militant action by supporters of the republican cause, who insist on their right to parade where they will.

There are five major annual Republican commemorations. The birth of Theobald Wolf Tone, a leading figure in the United Irishmen rising of 1798, is celebrated in June at Bodenstown, Co. Kildare; the Easter Rising of 1916 is commemorated with parades throughout Ireland; Bloody Sunday, January 30 1972, is marked by a parade in Derry; the 1981 Hunger Strikes by parades in early May, and the anniversary of the introduction of Internment in 1971, is commemorated each August usually on the weekend nearest August 9th. The Easter Rising is the most important of these commemorations, the event led to the formation of an independent Irish state, but also left the problem of a

partitioned island. Sinn Fein and the IRA claim the inheritance of the leaders of the Easter rising and the right to complete the process of removing the British state presence in Ireland. The day commemorates the heroic failure of 1916 but also by extension all those men and women who have died for the ideal of an independent Ireland.

On Easter Monday, April 24 1916, a heterogenous group of Catholic nationalists, revolutionary socialists and Fenian Republicans took over key buildings in Dublin and proclaimed an Independent Irish Republic. The Rising failed to attract mass support and the city was heavily bombarded by the British forces for nearly a week before the rebels surrendered. The widespread destruction hardened public opinion against the Rebels and, although the Rising had generated more determined resistance than previous attempts to oust the British in 1798, 1803, 1848 and 1867, it initially appeared to have achieved no more success. However, the British Government were determined to make an example of the leaders and at dawn on May 3, Padraig Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh and Tom Clarke were executed. Over the next ten days, twelve more of the rebel leadership were shot (Beckett 1981, Jackson 1947, Kee 1989b, Lyons 1973). The prolonged cycle of executions transformed the public reaction to the Easter Rising, they generated immense sympathy for the dead and anger at the British government, both in Ireland and across America. Martyred to the cause of an independent Ireland, the executions produced what Ruth Dudley-Edwards has called the "triumph of failure" (1978). In 1918, at the first post-war General Election Sinn Fein, who had previously been an insignificant political force, won 73 of 105 Irish seats and the constitutional Nationalist Party was almost wiped out. After independence, the Rising and its leaders were widely commemorated and celebrated as the inspiration of the new state. In the newly created Northern Ireland, small

commemorations were held in nationalist communities, but widespread public displays of support for Irish nationalism were not welcome (Loftus 1994 p88). The 1922 Special Powers Act and, from 1954, the Flags and Emblems Act were used to constrain nationalist displays and, although the commemorations were legally banned, this was often ignored. Instead the parades were effectively constrained to strongly nationalist towns like Newry or Armagh or, in Belfast, were kept to the Falls Road, where the tricolour flew freely out of sight of unionist eyes. At the 50th anniversary in 1966, parades were held in towns across the north, and at a special commemorative rally in Belfast an estimated 50,000 people lined the route to watch the representatives of the Trades Council, Trades Unions, the INF, the Gaelic Athletic Association, numerous Nationalist Clubs and the Old IRA parade to Casement Park (IN 18-4-1966). Since the onset of the Troubles, Easter has become more closely identified as a Republican, rather than a more generally nationalist, commemoration. In Dublin, the state has scaled down its support for the occasion. But it remains the most widely observed anniversary and is marked by parades and assemblies all across Ireland. In 1993 the Sinn Fein newspaper "An Phoblacht" reported commemorations in 21 counties (15-4-93, 22-4-93). A divided Ireland is symbolically re-united each Easter as people parade simultaneously across the country to remember 1916.

In Belfast the main parade, organised by the National Graves Association, is held on the Falls Road on Easter Sunday. Small parades are held in New Lodge on Easter Monday and the Ardoyne on Tuesday. Republicans assemble in the early afternoon of Easter Sunday at the junction of Beechmount Avenue and the Falls Road for the parade to Milltown cemetery. In 1993 a banner with the words "Caisc-Easter 1916-1993" spanned Beechmount Avenue and orange, white and green bunting decorated the main road and the side street. The main visual impact was made by two murals

flanking the assembly point. The smaller of the two depicted James Connolly, one of the leaders of the Rising, and Bobby Sands, the leader of the 1981 republican Hunger Strikers. Facing it, an elaborate mural covering the entire gable wall depicts a manacled hand clenching an Easter lily over a map of Ireland, above it a phoenix rises from a flaming GPO, and in the corners the shields of the four provinces of Ireland (Photo 35). The mural surrounds a small plaque commemorating local IRA volunteers who have died in the Troubles while on the back yard wall are the unacknowledged words of Padraig Pearse:

The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian
dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland
unfree shall never be at peace.

The quotation, taken from a speech that Pearse made in 1915 at the funeral in Dublin of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, prophetically refers to the importance of the rebel dead as a continuing inspiration for the living to continue the struggle for Irish unity. The Rising is most widely remembered and symbolised by the words and images of the principal actors involved, particularly Pearse and Connolly, who have come to signify the struggle as a whole. But, at Easter, commemoration of the sacrificial execution of these heroic individuals condenses within it a general acknowledgement of all those who have given and continue to give their lives for Ireland. Here at Beechmount the images of Connolly and Sands make an explicit connection between historic and the contemporary struggles.

Around 2.00pm the parade begins the walk of little over a mile up the Falls Road to Milltown cemetery. A large crowd of onlookers gather at the departure point and a small number of people watch the procession pass. Security for the event is heavy, with both RUC and army in evidence, but the individuals are ignored as much as possible. The parade is led by a colour party wearing a uniform black jacket, trousers or skirt and white shirt. At the head is the Irish

tricolour, followed in the second rank by Connolly's Starry Plough, the sunburst flag of the Fianna, the republican youth wing, and a blue flag with a gold trim bearing the words "Oglaig na hEireann", the Irish name of the IRA. Finally the flags of the four provinces of Ireland. No other flags or banners were carried on the parade. After the colour party come the Andersonstown Pipe Band, and another four bands march within the body of the procession. An Phoblacht estimate the number in the parade at "thousands" (15-4-93).

At the Republican plot in Milltown there are two memorials, the original cross was erected in 1912 to commemorate the Fenians of 1867; it also records the death of IRA volunteers from the 1920s and 40s. Next to it is the contemporary County Antrim memorial. Two interlocking blocks which form a cross when viewed from above list all the IRA and Sinn Fein members from the area who have been killed in the various campaigns since 1916 and also the names of known dead of the United Irishman rebellion of 1798, two men killed in the 1803 rising and the Fenians of 1867. In front of the memorial a small platform is erected for the speakers, people assemble around the republican plot, careful to avoid adjacent graves. Reporters and camera crews occupy much of the space near to the platform.

The proceedings follow a form which dates back at least as far as the 1966 anniversary and probably well before this (IN 11-4-66). A general introduction and welcome is followed by a reading of the 1916 Proclamation of Independence and then a decade of the Rosary. Wreaths are then laid by, or on behalf of, Sinn Fein, the IRA, Republican prisoners, the Gaelic Athletic Association and the National Graves Association. This was followed by the playing of a lament by a solitary piper, as all flags are slowly lowered. The proceedings end with a number of

speeches. Easter is used not only to encourage the resolve of Republican supporters but also to make public statements in response to the broader political situation. In 1993 Tom Hartley, the Sinn Fein chair, focused on the desire for peace and stressed the need for dialogue as a means to this end. In 1994 Gerry Adams spoke as part of the high profile move towards a solution following the Downing Street Declaration of December 1993, and in 1995 Martin McGuinness spoke in Belfast for the first time. In 1993 a speech was also made by a representative of the IRA reiterating both their support for Sinn Fein and their resolve to continue the armed struggle. The speech was made from a hidden position from underneath the platform. The numerous RUC officers in the vicinity made no attempt to stop the speech or intercept the speaker, nobody attempted to take photographs during the speech and all television cameras were deliberately turned away from the platform.

After the speeches the commemoration broke up with a request for people to depart quietly and with respect, but also with a reminder to ignore the "other parade" coming up the Falls Road to the cemetery, a reference to the Easter commemoration of the Workers Party, due to arrive shortly after 3pm. The Workers Party were the product of a split in the Republican movement in 1969. The Official IRA favoured a more political approach to the conflict, while the Provisionals claimed the inheritance of the armed struggle (Bowyer Bell 1990, Coogan 1990). After numerous name changes the Workers Party still claim their right to the inheritance of 1916 and hold a similar style of parade to their memorial in Milltown. Although their commemoration is a much smaller affair, the Workers Party follow the same array of flags as Sinn Fein did earlier, lacking only the Oglraig na hEireann flag. At Milltown they hold a ceremony with a similar mixture of acts of remembrance and political rhetoric. In 1995 at the first Easter commemoration following the ceasefires, the crowds watching and the

procession of walkers at the main Sinn Fein parade was much larger than in previous years, the atmosphere was also more relaxed. There was also a more extensive range of commemorations, as first the militant Republican Sinn Fein, who advocate the continuation of the armed struggle, and then the Irish Republican Socialist Party held small ceremonies to honour their dead before the main NGA/SF parade took over the cemetery.

Orange commemorations, celebrating collective triumph, have maintained a public unity even though diverse opinions and ideals are on display, but the nationalist movement, whose commemorations are rooted in bitter memories of sacrifice and failure, have been unable to maintain any formal unity. As one group has voted for compromise and agreed to work within the available political framework, another group has always been ready to claim the inheritance of the armed struggle and the right to transform the system through violence. Divided in their strategy for the future, they have also become divided in their claims to the past. But the Easter anniversary also illustrates how it has proved more difficult to reject the symbolism of Irish nationalism than the tactics, and even conservative groups must acknowledge the powerful presence of the armed struggle even though they no longer publically celebrate it. This tendency has been accelerated during the period of the Troubles, as constitutional groups have sought to distance themselves from the tactics of the IRA while retaining a claim on nationalist history. Each of the nationalist groups has tended towards independent and exclusive public occasions while maintaining their claim to a common heritage. Although neither the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Irish National Foresters publicly commemorate the Easter Rising, they retain references to it on their banners carried on other parades. Amidst the portraits of Saints, Popes, early Irish heroes and 19th century constitutionalist politicians, the Rising retains a

foothold for the military tradition within all fractions of the nationalist movement.

Easter remains the most prominent and widespread commemoration in the republican calendar, but the practice of celebrating the desire for national and political aspirations through commemoration of the sacrificial death of individuals is much more widespread. As well as the major anniversaries, numerous smaller events are held across Ireland as throughout the year republicans gather to remember individuals who have died in the struggle for Ireland.

The paper also carries reports of the deaths of Sinn Fein members and IRA volunteers, both from the contemporary troubles and from earlier campaigns, and many of these figures will in turn be commemorated in future years. These commemorations extend the tradition of the Easter memorials and the contemporary struggle is thus personalised and exemplified through the actions of individuals. The frequent repetition of public remembrance ensures that the resolve to continue the struggle is maintained. To give up or to compromise without achieving substantial gains would mean that these men and women had died in vain. The ritual of the Easter commemoration and the names on the County Antrim memorial allude to a sense of an unbroken chain of struggle, which extends from the rebels of 1798 through to the most recent IRA volunteer interred in Milltown. A continuum which each generation must honour and extend until Ireland is free.

The 1981 Hunger Strikes have become the nearest equivalent of the contemporary events that have been adopted into the collective memory to the Easter Rising. The prolonged repetition of death was both a traumatic experience that was spread across the entire nationalist community, both spatially and politically (Feldman 1991, O'Malley 1990). But as well as firing the embers of bitterness, the new

 TABLE 7.2. Commemorations reported in "An Phoblacht" in
 sample years of 1991 and 1994.

Jan	2	Sean Sabhat, Limerick. Commemoration of 1957 Brookeboro Raid (1994).
	27	Bloody Sunday.
Feb	10	2nd Anniversary of murder of Cllr John Davey. Wreath laying at Culladuff.
	13	Frank Stagg, 18th Comm, Wakefield (1994).
	13	Barnes and McCormack Comm, Banagher, Co Offaly (1994).
	13	John Davey Memorial, Lavey, South Derry (1994).
	17	Annual Commemoration for Vols Henry Hogan and Declan Martin, shot 1984. Parade and wreath laying at Dunloy, Antrim.
	24	3rd Anniversary of death of Vol Brendan Burns. Wreath laying and oration at Crossmaglen.
Mar	3	3rd Anniversary of death of Brendan Moley. Wreath laying parade and oration at Cullyhanna.
	17	16th Anniversary Comm. Vol Tom Smith. March, wreaths, and oration in Dublin.
	27	Unveiling of Vol James Kelly Memorial, Maghera (1994).
Mar	30	- Apr 2 Easter Commemorations.
Apr	6	Easter Commemorations in Dublin.
	7	Unveiling of monument to Vol Gerard Casey, Rasharkin.
	14	Comm. for Jim Gratton, 1st person deported from Ireland by Irish Govt for political beliefs. Co Leitrim.
May	1	Official Unveiling and Blessing of John Joe McGill Memorial (1994).
	5	Anniversary of Hunger Strikes. Belfast. James Connolly and Bobby Sands Annual Commemoration, London.
	8	4th Loughgall Commemoration. March at Cappagh.
	12	10th Anniversary of Frank Hughes. Bellaghy.
	12	75th Anniversary of execution of Sean McDiarmada. Co Leitrim.
	15	Vol Hugh Hehir Commemoration, Clare Castle, (1994).
	19	Anti Plastic Bullet March, Poleglass to Twinbrook to commemorate death of two schoolgirls in 1981.
	19	Raymond McCreesh Memorial unveiled.
	21	Patsy O'Hara Commemoration March, Derry.
June	5	Michael Gaughan, 20th Comm. Cambridge (1994).
	23	Wolf Tone Commemoration, Bodenstown.
	25	Miriam Daly Comm, Dublin (1994).
	30	Parade to Republican plot, Derry. Commemorating 40 dead members of Derry IRA Brigade.
July	7	Hunger Strikes Commemoration, Cookstown.
	13	United Irishmen Commemoration. Ballina.
	15	10th Annual Martin Hurson Comm. Parade, Cappagh.
	17	Michael Gaughan 20th Comm. Ballina, Co Mayo (1994).
	21	Vol Patrick Cannon Commemoration. Dublin.

- Aug 4 10th Kevin Lynch Comm. Dungiven.
- 9 Internment Rally, Newry.
- 11 Internment Rally, Belfast.
- 11 10th Kieran Doherty Comm. Andersonstown.
- 11 10th Thomas McElwee Comm. Bellaghy.
- 19 Dedication of Garden of Remembrance, Carrickmore.
- 19 Commemorative Parades for Eamonn Laverty, Jim O'Hagan and Michael Devine, Derry.
- 27 21st Anniversary Comm. of Dermot Crowley and Tony Ahern, Cork (1994).
- Sept 8 Republican Commemoration, Dublin.
- 8 Liam Lynch (killed 1923) Commemoration, Co. Tipperary.
- Oct 9 Sean O Conaill + Noel Jenkinson Comm Leicester (1994).
- 16 Unveiling of Memorial to Joe Ennin. Killnalech, Co Cavan (1994).
- 16 Memorial to Vol Brendan Seery, Rathaspie Cemetery, Westmeath (1994)
- 17 United Irishmen Commemorations at Belfast, Dublin, Buncrana and Navan.
- Nov 6 74th Kevin Barry Comm, Rathvilly Co Carlow (1994).
- 6 20th Anniversary Parade murder of Hugh Rooney, Coalisland (1994).
- 7 Tommy Casey Memorial unveiled, Kildress Co.Tyrone.
- 20 Vol Michael McVerry, 21st Ann Comm, Cullyhanna (1994).
- 20 Annual Kilmichael Comm. Kilmichael, Co Cork (1994).
- 22 74th Eddie Carmody Comm. Ballylongford, Co Kerry (1994).
- 22 Memorial Unveiling for Vol Joe Donaghy. Donaghmore, Co Tyrone (1994).
- Dec 2 50th Charlie Kerrins Comm. Tralee, Co Kerry (1994).
- 11 74th Delaney Bros Comm and Wreath laying. Cork (1994).
- 11 Wreath laying for SF member Malachy Corey, Loughgill Co Antrim (1994).
- 19 Liam Ryan Memorial unveiled, Moortown Co.Tyrone.

republican martyrs also became a spur to a new course of action once the potential power of the ballot box had been realised by the election of Bobby Sands as MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone (Clarke 1987). All the dead Hunger Strikers have their own local individual commemorations, but the event is remembered specifically through Bobby Sands. The main parade in Belfast is held on the

anniversary of his death, and just as Connolly and Pearse have most readily been adopted as the symbols of 1916, so Sands is the clearest symbol of the determination of the IRA to continue until they have achieved their aims.

The other major commemorations of recent history, Internment and Bloody Sunday differ in celebrating a more generalised and depersonalised nationalist community. They have come to signify the defiance and resolve of the Catholic population as a whole, and exemplify collective strength drawn from adversity rather than individual sacrifice and resistance. This broad base of resistance has been more publically celebrated in the mural paintings produced since the ceasefire, as Sinn Fein sought to return to the street protests of the civil rights era. On August 9 1971 the British government responded to an increase in violence and Unionist pressure by introducing Internment, over 300 Catholic men were imprisoned without trial or charge on suspicion of being involved in the paramilitary violence (De Baroid 1990, McCann 1980). But instead of clamping down on violence, the crudely blunt instrument of Internment was

a disaster as a police measure, alienating many of the still neutral Catholic middle class, in no way damaging the structure of the Officials or the Provos, and to an increasingly fascinated world revealing the sectarian nature of justice - British justice supposedly - in Northern Ireland. As a symbolic victory for the Loyalists it was an equal disaster. Their good advice had led Northern Ireland into open rebellion and chaos and general disrepute (Bowyer Bell 1990 p 381).

Widespread protests followed, and on January 30 an estimated 10,000 people joined an anti-internment demonstration organised by the Civil Rights Association in Derry. At the last minute the destination of the march was changed and the route between the Bogside and the city centre was barricaded by the British army. Some of the

demonstrators sought to break down the barriers and a flurry of stones and bottles was met with rubber bullets. Then, without any warning, members of the Parachute Regiment opened fire with live rounds and within a few minutes 13 unarmed civilians were shot dead, and another man died later from wounds received (McCann 1992).

These two events, Internment and Bloody Sunday, confirmed to the nationalist population that the British government was no longer a neutral player but was now clearly seen as on the side of the Unionists. They were perceived as random attacks on the Catholic community as a whole rather than aimed specifically at republicans or those politically involved. Innocent men were arrested and held without charge and it was later accepted that many were tortured (McGuffin 1973, 1974). Those who protested against this injustice were summarily shot dead. And, to add insult to injury, the British Government continued to offer justifications for their actions rather than apologies. (To date the British Government have refused to apologise for the killings on Bloody Sunday). These two events were central to the widespread alienation of the mass of the Catholic population to the British army and the Government, as a result of Internment and Bloody Sunday membership of the IRA and support for the republican movement grew rapidly.

The first anniversary of Internment was commemorated in West Belfast with an extensive programme of events organised by NICRA (Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association) which established what was to become the customary pattern of the anniversary - a march along a stretch of the Falls Road followed by a political rally, the evening inevitably degenerated into rioting or stone throwing. By 1975 Sinn Fein were organising the Belfast rally instead of NICRA, a parallel process to the republican take over of the Easter commemorations and, for

many years, St Patrick's day. As the scale of the violence increased the republican movement became the principal focus for all nationalist protest. Internment parades were moved to the Sunday nearest the anniversary and the event was used to publicise the wider political demands of the republican movement. Calls were made for the withdrawal of British troops and support for the Republican prisoners in their campaign for political status repeated annually, members of NORAIID from the USA regularly attended, GLC councillors came from London and armed members of the IRA made regular appearances. By the mid-1980s the style of commemoration was changing, the West Belfast Community Festival was organised in the week before the rally with the intention of generating positive emotions rather than the customary violent reaction to soldiers and police. The festival has developed as a wide mixture of political debates and meetings and concerts of music, drama and dance. The commemoration of Internment has thus become part of a broader celebration of the "culture of resistance" and the strength and vitality of the nationalist community (Sluka 1995).

As part of this wider transformation, the Internment anniversary was used to challenge some of the constraints placed on the location of republican events. In Belfast the main nationalist commemorations had been historically confined to the extended network of Catholic estates in West Belfast centred on the Falls Road. Road blocks and army patrols secured all roads in and out of the nationalist area which was effectively segregated from the larger city for the day. Republicans were allowed to celebrate in public but only in what were regarded as their areas, not in the city as a whole. The city centre remained a no-go area. From 1990 determined efforts were made to carry republican parades and demonstrations into the heart of the city and in August 1991 a march from East Belfast was able to parade past the City Hall en route to the Falls

Road (Jarman 1993). In 1993, in spite of protests from Unionist politicians, the main Internment day demonstration was allowed to rally in front of the City Hall for the first time (An Phoblacht 12-8-93). This parade began at Twinbrook, the south west extremity of the nationalist area and the home of Bobby Sands, and gradually accumulated more people as it wove its way along the axis of nationalist Belfast, through Andersonstown and down the Falls Road. It was led into the city, previously the preserve of loyalist parades, by Sinn Fein leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness and the rally was held directly in front of the statue of Queen Victoria. Throughout the late eighties the Internment rallies had only been attracting crowds of 3-4,000 but Sinn Fein estimated a crowd of up to 15,000 for the rally in 1993. Having breached the heart of Belfast once, the same venue was used the following year and after the IRA declared a ceasefire from September 1994, Sinn Fein were able to hold rallies and parades through the centre almost at will.

Easter remains the pre-eminent commemoration of the republican community, but the Internment celebrations have developed into a new form of commemoration. Rather than remembering acts of individual sacrifice, of violence and death, Internment has come to be focused away from the past and instead directed towards the future. The commemoration of collective outrage has been transformed and transcended into a festival that celebrates the collective strength and vitality of the wider nationalist community; it balances the memory of violence with music and drama. Easter focuses on the determination to continue the fight and the readiness to self-sacrifice, while Internment has become a time to celebrate the creative aspects of society which allow the republican movement to look forward with optimism. This division can be dated at least back to last century when the more overt revolutionary politics of republicanism were enmeshed with the cultural nationalism

of the Gaelic revival and its emphasis on the creative spirit of the Irish. The more violent political tactics of the twentieth century has tended to overwhelm these aspects of the republican movement which have only surfaced with any verve in parallel with Sinn Fein's greater emphasis on their electoral political campaign.

COMPARING REPUBLICAN AND LOYALIST COMMEMORATIONS

Republican and loyalist organisations have a broad similarity in their use of public parades for commemorative events, but there is a substantial difference between the structure and form of the parade in each community. In contrast to the military style presentation of loyalist events with their rigid separation of participants and spectators and the division of participants into distinct, independent groups, the republican parades are much more open affairs. There is little formality, no structured dress code and no separation by gender or age. Anyone can participate in a republican parade. People join in as individuals and as supporters of a common ideal rather than as part of a formal group. Although both commemorations include brash para-military type bands, republican parades do not move with the same militarised step as those of the loyalists. Instead they have a more relaxed and informal air about them. The crowd that follows the colour party includes large numbers of women and girls and even babies in prams, who are largely excluded from participating in Orange parades. Loyalist parades are essentially triumphal expressions of a collective determination, a celebration of strength in unity and in brotherhood, while republican parades commemorate the continued resolve in defeat and the determination to carry on the fight. The followers mourn the dead, to draw strength from their sacrifice and to show that their heroes did not die in vain. This suggests something of the two historical traditions which are being drawn on in the contemporary commemorative practices. Women

are always sidelined by the march to war but are always publically prominent at the resulting funeral ceremonies.

The loyalist style of parades, and those of the AOH and INF, can be traced to the paramilitary traditions of the Volunteers in late 18th century. These were formalised and redefined in the emerging and combative sectarian politics of the 19th century to emphasise the power and unity of the community. Republican commemorations draw heavily on the tradition of the funeral procession which dates from the same era but has a less readily documented history. The Catholic Ribbonmen paraded in large numbers at funerals in the 1830s (Garvin 1981 p42) and Freemasons also paraded on such occasions. One masonic lodge in Comber, County Down paraded at over 70 funerals between 1808 and 1845 (Simpson 1926 p83). Funerals and memorials to well known political figures have often been turned into major public events and have mobilised the Catholic population more readily than simple commemorative parades. Setting the foundation stone for the O'Connell memorial in Dublin in August 1864 served as a proxy funeral, 17 years after the death of the Liberator. Enormous crowds were attracted to the centre of Dublin and riots broke out in Belfast as Catholics were attacked as they returned home (Boyd 1987). The returning body of the exiled Young Irelander T.B.McManus, in 1861, provoked a mass demonstration of patriotism, in stark contrast to the lack of support for their attempted rebellion in 1848. Half a century later the political mobilisation of nationalists for the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa, in August 1915, enabled Pearse and the Irish Volunteers to lay public claim to the inheritance of the Fenian tradition (Kee 1989a, 1989b). In the aftermath of the failed Rising, the funerals of Republican hunger strikers Thomas Ashe, in Dublin in 1917, and Terence MacSwiney, in Cork in 1920, provoked major displays of support for the Republican ideal. Over 30,000 people followed Ashe's coffin through Dublin (Kee 1989c). More

recently this tradition has been extended to IRA funerals. The funeral of Bobby Sands in 1981 was the biggest demonstration of all as an estimated 100,000 people lined the route from his home in Twinbrook to Milltown cemetery (Beresford 1987). This tradition of honouring the fallen hero, has been the most consistent means of mobilising public support for the nationalist or republican ideal. It is this practice that underlies the Easter commemorations in Belfast. In contrast to the celebratory commemoration of a military victory that structures the loyalist parades, the emphasis within the republican movement is to honour its dead: those who died at Easter 1916, on Bloody Sunday 1972 and during the Hunger Strikes of 1981.

While drawing on an entwined tradition of commemorative ritual, current practices serve to emphasise two opposing senses of communal or ethnic identity and destiny that are grounded in an essential and exclusive sense of difference. This is made most explicit in the commemorations of the Somme and Easter, the two recent events that are most widely used to symbolise the divergent aspirations and sense of identity between the Protestant-Unionist and Catholic-Nationalist communities (Jarman in press). The Somme commemorations confirms that Ulster is both Protestant and British, and that Catholics are excluded as Catholics, since all the loyal orders remain exclusive to Protestants. The Easter parades are, theoretically, open to anyone who wants to walk, nationalist and republican groups proclaim a non-sectarian and universalist ideology, and welcome supporters of all faiths (apart from the AOH which is a specifically Catholic body). However, in practice, the Easter parades are scarcely less exclusive than Somme parades. In a society where every aspect of life is potentially indicative of one or the other community, the structure and form of the Easter commemorations indicate a distinctly Catholic activity. The location and timing as well as the more obvious religious symbols of the

commemoration, the rosary and the easter lily, enhance the identification with a religious anniversary. These features were continued by the republican movement when they claimed the inheritance of the event. The religious sense of Easter is also connoted in the name for the events of 1916, it is not called a rebellion, a revolution or even an uprising but simply The Rising. The Rising in Ireland coincides with the rising of Christ after the Crucifixion. The event is commemorated on Easter Sunday, as part of the Christian calendar, rather than on a Monday or every April 24, as part of the secular calendar. This conjunction substantiates the performative rhetoric of the commemorations, by drawing on long-standing and deeply felt religious codes for legitimacy.

Easter is commemorated and personified through the identities of the individuals who signed the Proclamation of Independence, who were executed as martyrs to the cause of Ireland and who today are honoured as vainly concealed, secularised modern day saints. Recent Republican murals devoted to the hunger strikes drew quite clearly on religious iconography and in particular Pieta-type imagery when depicting the plight of the men in the H Blocks. Their leader, Bobby Sands, like the 7 signatories of the Proclamation before him, has become abstracted into the idealised hero figure, whose life and death represents the embodied virtues of the nationalist ideal. In this he follows not only in the path of Pearse and Connolly but also Wolf Tone, Robert Emmett and the Manchester Martyrs before them, whose memorials can be found in provincial towns throughout the south, as martyrs to the cause of Ireland. The personal suffering and willing sacrifice of these individuals gives them the moral authority over, and the leadership of the community of followers.

In contrast to this focus on individual heroes, the loyalist commemoration of the Somme is enacted through

remembering and honouring the entire community of individuals involved. Although occasional references are made to the Ulster Protestant soldiers who received the Victoria Cross during the First World War, essentially the event is viewed as a collective sacrifice. Immediately after the war some Protestant leaders were celebrated above others, and Carson is still widely lionised, but other figures of this era, receive scant recognition nowadays. The individuals who fought and died may be remembered locally or on lodge banners but as with the numerous Orange worthies they are no more than first amongst equals. For the Protestants authority remains invested in the community of the faithful, collectively.

FORGETTING SIMILARITY, REMEMBERING DIFFERENCE.

What I have been trying to draw out here is something of both the similarities and differences of the two commemorative practices. Loyalist and republican traditions are rooted in both a common ground and two distinct pasts. A shared history is used and re-worked both to enhance the identity of each community and to mark it as emphatically different from the other, they mirror each other and gain internal strength from their mutual opposition. The broad view of these commemorative practices can be used to emphasise the similarity of such features as the parades, music and visual displays, while many of the details serve to stress the distinctiveness of two identities rooted in opposing religious and political ideals.

The events of 1916 are commemorated in a way that builds on and strengthens their existing concepts of Protestant/Unionist and Catholic/ Nationalist identities. But no less an important aspect of public commemorations are those inconvenient features of the past that do not help to substantiate the preferred reading, those events and details which contradict widely held assumptions or at

least provoke awkward questions, and thereby, rub against the grain of official and popular understanding and memory. These are the events, or facts of history that are written out of the dominant literature, erased from public commemorations and forgotten by popular memory. Ireland is no different from other countries in this manner. The importance in stressing the Catholic, nationalism of Ireland or the loyal, Protestantism of Ulster is to maintain an entrenched resolve behind the barricades of an essential identity and has meant greater emphasis has been placed on the differences between the two communities rather than exploring what exists of a shared past.

The Easter Rising and the Battle of the Somme are important in so far as they emphasise the irreconcilably different aspirations of Protestants and Catholics. While the Protestant community were sacrificing their young men against German guns, the Catholic rebels were acknowledging the support of "our gallant allies in Europe" as they rose up to stab Britain in the back. Or alternatively the Irish nationalists were following heroic precedents in their legitimate aspirations to a God ordained, independent nationhood, which had been constantly thwarted by the threats of violence by an undemocratic minority, who merely wished to maintain their discriminatory privileges. However, when one considers some of the ignored facts about the war years, the simple symmetry of the polarisation is difficult to sustain.

On 20 September 1914, just two days after the Home Rule Bill had become an Act of Parliament, John Redmond, leader of the Nationalist Party and of the nationalist Irish Volunteers encouraged the organisation's 170,000 members to support the war effort. The 10th and 16th Divisions were recruited from the nationalist population and sent to England for training. In Ulster in 1915 Catholics volunteered in proportionately equal numbers to Protestants

and by Autumn 1915 81,408 Irishmen had volunteered for the British Army. Some 27,000 were members of the Ulster Volunteers and 27,000 members of the Irish Volunteers. Only a minority of the membership of either the Ulster Volunteers or the Irish Volunteers ever joined up, but altogether over 200,000 Irishmen enlisted in the British forces during the war. 17 Catholic Irishmen won Victoria Crosses in the first 15 months of the war (Kee 1989b, Morgan 1991).

In Ireland, however, until the last few years the war has only been commemorated by unionists, some memorials were erected in the south but not with the public prominence they received in the north. The building of a National War Memorial in Dublin dragged on through the 1930s:

Today, the Irish National Memorial is in a sorry state...the bleak granite, decapitated columns, broken-down hedges, rotted pergolas, damaged fountains and empty pavilions are aptly evocative of a long-abandoned battlefield. Neglect verging on desecration symbolises the persistent indifference to the War and its legacy of successive administrations, anxious to guard the people from historical awareness lest they remember too much.
(Leonard 1988 p67)

An official change of attitude has meant that the memorial has recently been repaired and completed.

The events of Easter 1916 have eclipsed the nationalist and Catholic contribution to the Great War and their remembrance would only undermine the unity drawn around the independent Irish state, and obscure the clarity of the sense of distinction between Britain and Ireland. The sanctity of the memory of Easter 1916 is such that Charles Haughey's Government provoked outrage among republicans when the official 75th Anniversary commemorations were reduced to a minimal level (Ni Dhonnchadha and Dorgan 1991). This reaction refuses to confront the fact that support for the republican cause only became substantial

after the defeat of the Rising, and in the north, republicans were largely unimpressed with Dublin's plans for their role in the Rising and did nothing. Sinn Fein claimed over 70% of the parliamentary seats in 1918 but they still gained less than 50% of the vote, while Catholic Belfast remained supporters of the constitutional nationalist position (Morgan 1991).

But the nationalist contribution to the war is no less an inconvenience for the loyalists who would ideally include all Catholics within the rebel camp, and see themselves as the paragons of Irish loyalty. In turn this position, which emphasises the sacrifice of 1916, allows them to forget or ignore the uncomfortable facts of 1914. To forget that in the weeks preceding the war, while the Nationalist Party was working through Parliament for Home Rule, loyalists had been on the verge of an armed rebellion against the Government, that they were unwilling to accept the will of the democratic majority in Parliament, that they had imported arms from Germany to support their effort and that they had provoked a mutiny amongst the British army officers in Ireland in support of their cause. The Protestant tradition of opposing locally unpopular, Government decisions by the threat of armed rebellion is scarcely less extensive than that of the nationalist community, but that opposition has always been clouded by fervent expressions of loyalty. Social memories do not draw on some unquestioned mass of empirical facts but sift through the confusion of the past for evidence that serves to substantiate existing beliefs. Public commemorations help convert those selective details into unquestionable history. In Ireland popular memory and written history both forget the awkward, grey areas and mutually sustain the social truth of irreconcilable difference and antagonism between Protestant and Catholic.

PART THREE, CHAPTER 8.
ULSTER BANNERS, an Introduction.

At all major parades across Ulster banners, bannerettes and flags are a central part of the colour and display of the event. At the Twelfth of July in Belfast, over 100 large banners are carried by the Orange lodges, many bands are led by a colour party carrying a bannerette and both lodges and bands carry an array of flags. At Nationalist and Republican parades flags and banners are just as much in evidence although in fewer numbers. I have already considered the history of this tradition of parading with flags and banners, in this chapter I want to consider the technology of banner production and their entry into the parading environment.

The form and style of contemporary banners is an inheritance of the work of George Tutill who professionalised and monopolised the commercial banner industry in nineteenth century England, and the company he began in 1837 is still making banners (Gorman 1986). In the nineteenth century, parading with regalia of some kind was a widespread practice and banners were made for Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, Freemasons, Temperance Societies and Sunday Schools as well as organisations like the Orange Order (Buckley and Anderson 1988). The parades of the Friendly Societies and similar organisations have long since ceased and their banners sadly disappeared, and Trade Union parades at May Day or at the Durham Miners Gala are now a rarity or but a shadow of their former greatness (Roger 1981). But in Ulster traditionally styled banners are on display at many parades throughout the year.

MAKING THE BANNERS

From the end of the nineteenth century Bridgett Brothers of Belfast were the main painters and designers of banners for local organisations. Bridgett's closed in the late 1980s and today banner painting is carried on as a much smaller scale and often as one man business (1). The painters have a strong influence on the overall appearance of the banner but most concern is with the two central images. Often an old and damaged banner will be provided and used as a template for the replacement. In this way many of the images have changed little in style or in content over this century; many are based on the work of Bridgett Bros (who are themselves commemorated on at least one Orange banner). But new images are also regularly demanded, a local building or a recently deceased lodge member may be required as the subject for the new banner. In such a case the painter may be expected to scale up from a photograph to make a banner image. Other customers may just request a general theme and leave it to the painter to interpret their wishes by drawing on his experience or range of past banners. New painting is rarely completely original however. All painters utilise a range of adaptable images, pictures from children's Bibles are valuable resources for banners of a Biblical or religious nature. This is not as banal as it might seem, since part of the painter's skill is to summarise complex stories and focus their meaning into a single salient event or into readily recognisable images and thus to balance the need for a pleasing image with the desire to convey a specific message. The original image in a book or photograph is not copied directly but rather functions as the starting point from which the banner painter will then interpret his customers desires by repositioning or removing characters and working with the shadows, shading and colour to effect the best translation from one medium to the other.

The standard size of a banner is 7'x 6', and most are still made of 100% pure silk. The central image is enclosed within a frame varying from circular to shield-like in shape. A different image is painted on each side. Across the top of the banner is the name of the lodge or division along with its warrant number. Along the bottom may be an appropriate motto or quotation, or a reference to the lodge's geographical location. These are enclosed in a scroll form, often the same phrase is on both sides. Much of the remainder of the banner is covered with flowing, heraldic style floral or leaf designs. In preparation for painting, the silk is stretched on a wooden frame to keep it taut. The central design is sketched on paper before being transferred onto the silk. A white ground is painted on first and then several undercoats added before the final image is gradually built up. Painting is done in stages and can take several weeks, as time is allowed for areas to dry before adding the next layers. Sometimes gold leaf or aluminium foil is used to add extra sharpness and brightness to the background of the images and the heraldic scrolls; this adds substantially to the cost but on a sunny day the banner will shine with an extra brilliance. The painter works on several banners at once, with each at a different stage of completion. Once all of the painting is completed a silk border, about eight inches wide and in a contrasting colour to the main silk background, is sewn around three sides, the top is edged with hoops from which the banners is suspended, and finally along the bottom a fringe and retaining ribbons complete the work.

On parade the banner is hung from a cross bar, suspended between two wooden poles. These poles are topped by ornamental metalwork: most Orange poles depict a five pointed star in a circle; the Black preceptories favour a compass and square; the Hibernians commonly carry either a Celtic cross or an ornate Catholic cross; while among the INF the Irish harp is common. Both loyalist and nationalist

organisations also allude to the military origins of this displaying practice by topping the poles with a small decorative axe head or a pike point; the pike being the favoured weapon of the Irish peasantry until the nineteenth century. Two men are needed to carry a standard banner, supporting the poles in a leather harness worn around the neck. If it is windy, young boys will often be employed to hold the retaining ribbons to prevent the banner blowing freely, but this has the effect of turning the banner into a sail and often the banners are allowed to fly in the wind. Some of the older banners are made from canvas or some heavier fabric rather than silk and they need a heavier frame, but these banners are rarely seen on parade, however, at the AOH parade in Derry in August 1993, the Newry branch paraded their banner for the first time in 25 years. This was considerably heavier than the common silk banners and as well as the pole bearers it required four men on retaining cords to keep it upright. If the banner is protected from wind damage and carefully dried before it is put away it may last for anything between 25 and 40 years. Many banners are not treated with the respect required for this length of life, they tear while blowing freely in the wind, they are laid out on the grass prior to a parade, are sometimes used to cover and protect instruments at the lunch break and are rolled up wet at the end of the day. Notwithstanding this casual treatment, many banners still reach an old age and many are brought out on parade despite being frayed, cracked and patched.

Bannerettes are small banners, some c.3'x 2', which are hung from a simple cross frame and carried by a single person. These are usually painted on only one side but, despite their size, still follow the same format of central image, writing and heraldic scrolls but with less visual impact. Most of the Apprentice Boys clubs carry bannerettes at the Closing of the Gates parade in Derry in December. I was told that this was due to the Derry weather being bad

in December and therefore there was more likelihood of damage to the large banners which were only displayed in the drier summer parades. Bannerettes are also easier to transport on coaches or mini-buses than banners. Bannerettes also form part of the ceremonial regalia of the marching bands, who never carry large banners, these usually bear the name of the band and some form of ceremonial insignia or heraldic crest (2).

GOING PUBLIC

Before a banner is publicly paraded for the first time, it is customary to first unfurl it at a dedication ceremony. These are local affairs but are advertised and reported within the fraternity publications, and some attract prominent public figures to the event. The format of these events varies from locale to locale, some take place in public, others are held in a church or other building, but all involve a short parade as part of the occasion. In the weeks preceding the Twelfth of July parades there are numerous banner unfurlings and arch openings focusing local attention on the build up to the big event.

On Saturday July 4 1992, a new Orange Order banner was dedicated and unfurled at Bessbrook, Co Armagh, a small village two miles north of Newry (3). The village is a Protestant stronghold in South Armagh, popularly known as "bandit country". During the Troubles it became headquarters for the British army in the border area and consequently has been heavily fortified. This serves to accentuate the more general Protestant feeling of being a besieged community. The area was considered so unsafe for the security forces that all troop and supply movements were made by helicopter. As a result, the base was reputed to be the busiest heliport in Europe. On the day of the unfurling, helicopters seemed to be arriving and departing almost continuously with no acknowledgement of the

ceremonies taking place.

Security for the event was very tight, all vehicles were checked before entering the village, and while army footpatrols checked hedgerows and watched the open spaces, the RUC patrolled within the town amongst the houses and shops. The Orangemen gathered at the Orange Hall at the edge of the village and outside the security cordon. At about 3pm they began the short walk past the security barriers into the village. The local lodge carried their new banner, which remained furled, accompanied by a local flute band. The walk of a few hundred metres back into Bessbrook passed along the narrow hedged road watched by soldiers and a few locals before assembling in the town square in front of the bowling green and children's playground. A crowd of perhaps 150 people gathered in front of an open sided articulated lorry trailer which served as a platform for the officials. These included the officers of Bessbrook Purple Star LOL 959 and the Bessbrook District Lodge, some officers from Belfast, the local vicar and the widows of the two Orangemen commemorated on the banner. The main speaker was the Rev Martin Smyth MP for South Belfast and Grand Master of the Orange Lodge of Ireland. Many local people followed the events from a distance.

The proceedings began with a short introductory speech by the Master of the local lodge, who told people that it had been 30 years since the previous banner had been unfurled and the occasion had been chosen to commemorate their dead colleagues, as this year Bessbrook was to host the Twelfth of July parade for the first time since 1981. The ceremony continued with the hymn "O God, our help in ages past" (4) and a prayer and a scripture reading before the banner was unfurled. The new banner commemorated two local members of the Orange Order who had been among ten men killed by the IRA at nearby Kingsmill in January 1976. It portrayed Joseph Lemmon and James McWhirter wearing their Orange

regalia and between them the stone memorial bearing the names of all the men who died in the attack. The painting was underlined with the words "We Will Remember Them". The unfurling, which took place immediately in front of the memorial depicted on the banner, was carried out by the widows of the two men and it was then dedicated by the Rev. Martin Smyth. At this stage there was a pause in the proceedings as many spectators photographed the new banner. A second hymn was sung, and a final prayer said before a round of speeches was made from the platform.

While the dedication speech and the introductions focused on the memories of the two dead men and the relationship between them, the Order and their Protestant religion, the final speech was an opportunity for Martin Smyth to reiterate the Unionist position concerning the current political situation with respect to the all-party talks over the future of Northern Ireland, which were then in a state of near collapse, and the relationship between Ulster and the Irish government in particular. The ceremony ended with the singing of the National Anthem and the public events concluded with the new banner being paraded up and down the main streets of the town by the Orangemen accompanied by two bands. Most people who had not already seen the banner were at this stage lining the streets to watch the procession. The proceedings had taken up the entire Saturday afternoon.

A similar ceremony was held at the unfurling of an AOH banner for Drumraymond Division 64 at Toome on Sunday August 2 1992. Toome, a small town on the River Bann which divides the predominantly unionist eastern half of Ulster from the more nationalist west. The unfurling was held in the grounds of the local Gaelic Athletic Association on the eastern side of the town. It was attended by the National President of the AOH, Raymond McCormick and attracted supporters from as far as Derry, some 45 miles away. It was

a similar mixture of prayers, hymns and speeches to the Orange Order's unfurling ceremony. The new banner was a replica of the previous one with the addition of the portrait of local churchman Canon John McMullan. The main image depicted the Maid of Erin receiving a Bible from an angel and at each corner smaller portraits of Padraig Pearce, James Connolly, and two other figures, it bears the motto "Ireland's Illustrious Sons". On the reverse are the emblems of the four provinces of Ireland and a mounted warrior bearing a flag, probably Hugh O'Neill (5).

Unlike the Orange unfurling ceremony there were no political speeches at Toome; rather they concentrated on the events in hand, wishing the local district well and relief that the rain had kept off. The banner was blessed with Holy Water by a local priest before the parade set off to display it around the town. Here the local division were accompanied by divisions from Derry and Hillhead, both carrying their own banners, and a number of bands. The Hibernians made their way from the field through the town and out as far as the black marble memorial to Roddy McCorley, a local member of the United Irishmen, killed in the rising of 1798. This sits besides the Bann and faces the heavily fortified corrugated walls of the RUC station which dominates the approach to the town (6). At the memorial they walkers turned and retraced their steps to the field where the event broke up. Security in Toome was slight and the atmosphere more relaxed than at Bessbrook; the few troops present were some distance out of the village and concealed in a hedge, local security was left to the RUC. As at the Bessbrook ceremony, the majority of the people at the actual unfurling were members of the organisation, but large numbers of local people, of all ages, lined the streets to witness the parading of the new banner.

RITUALISING BANNERS

Contemporary unfurling ceremonies are seemingly inseparably interwoven with religious sentiments and practices. They are presided over by churchmen and often partly held in church premises. But they also retain the military air of the martial parade. This linkage between Protestantism, banners and militarism is enhanced by the words of two of the hymns often used by the loyal orders on these occasions:

Stand up! stand up for Jesus,
Ye soldiers of the Cross!
Lift high his royal banner,
It must not suffer loss.

and:

Onward christian soldiers,
Marching on to war,
With the Cross of Jesus
Going on before.
Christ the Royal Master,
Leads against the foe,
Forward into battle,
See his banners go.

From these sentiments, the carrying of banners on parades can be literally interpreted, justified and demanded as an extension of religious belief. And if the religious images depicted on many banners make an analogy between the Ulster Protestants and God's Chosen People, then this is extended and enhanced by the practice of actually carrying "his royal banner" across the province. Ceremonies to mark the unfurling of Orange banners are recorded from the early years of this century (7), at the same time as the iconography was being expanded to include more Biblical imagery and banners formalised in style and design, they were also becoming enveloped in ceremony and ritual. Among the earliest reports is the unfurling of the banner of the Sandy Row Volunteers on June 30 1900 (Belfast Weekly News

7-7-1900). The banner was unfurled by lodge members and speeches were made, but there was no religious ritual and the evening ended with "songs and other amusements". The following year at a more formal ceremony the banner of Cleland Royal standard was unfurled by Miss Rose-Cleland with the words "In the name of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost I dedicate this banner" (BWN 4-7-1901). From this time formal opening or unveiling was rapidly adopted by Orangemen for all forms of public imagery, arches were ceremoniously opened and, in 1913, one of the first murals in Belfast on Dee Street was covered with fabric curtains for the ceremony (BT 11-7-1913).

Usually a local woman had the honour of unfurling the banner and she would invariably receive a pair of silver scissors as thanks. Sometimes local dignitaries unfurled banners which bore their own portraits: the future PM of Northern Ireland, Captain James Craig unveiled the Killinchey Old York banner bearing his portrait in 1905 (pers comm Ulster Society). Although local politicians were involved and took the opportunity to make short speeches these were not political occasions. Unfurling provided a public focus to view and admire the images and to commemorate the day in a local setting before setting off for the big parade, when the new banner would become just one of any number on display. After the First World War these formal openings were more clearly structured as public ceremonials. In Belfast, arch and mural openings often attracted Stormont MPs or other local politicians who took the opportunity to say a few words (NW 12-7-1922, BNL 12-7-1923, 7-7-1930). Banner unfurlings were further ritualised by holding the event on or near to the anniversary of the Somme, at the beginning of July (a date marked by small local parades), rather than immediately prior to the Twelfth parade. The unfurling of a new banner became an event in its own right, and at the same time linked the commemoration of the devastation and sacrifice

of the war with the celebration of the continued vitality of the loyal orders. But most reported unfurlings went off without any religious presence, and although religious dedication is a requisite part of the contemporary banner ritual (8), this appears to be a feature of post-1945 Orangeism rather than a long standing tradition (9).

In a discussion of a similar ceremony in the Spanish enclave of Melilla in north Africa, Driessen describes the presentation ceremony of a new national flag to the military garrison, during which this flag was dedicated to God, whose support and protection was requested, consecrated with holy water and then carried in a military parade through the streets of the town. Besides the obvious similarities with Ulster banner dedications described above, Melilla is also in a geographically similar position (from the Loyalist perspective), being physically separated from the Spanish mainland and surrounded by those of a different faith. The ceremony in Melilla took place at a time of heightened inter-ethnic tensions and, Driessen argues, by evoking both national honour and local pride the ceremony helped to restore a unified sense of community to the Catholic Spanish population in Melilla and by invoking divine patronage, legitimised Catholic political domination (Driessen 1992 Chapter 6). Driessen sees the event as similar to a baptism or marriage ceremony in which the flag is a metaphor of rebirth and of the renewal and confirmation of the bond between Melilla and the motherland. At the same time as it confirms the essential family-like unity of the Catholic population, it also makes it clear that the Muslim population were, and would remain, excluded both from this united family and from the power and authority it maintains over the city.

In the Irish examples, the unfurling ceremony for a first banner announces the public existence of the group of men as a single collective entity. Although lodges can and do

walk on parade without any form of distinguishing regalia, they are effectively invisible in doing so. Without a banner to display at public events the men are a nameless group of individuals, lacking a collective identity and lacking a history: it is the banner that announces the name of the body, its geographical base, its political and religious orientation and from its warrant number and sometimes from the image born on the banner, its history. Orange banners have been described to me as comparable to regimental flags in the army being both the focal point and a rallying point. It is only with a banner that the group of individuals are incorporated as a single body with their own identity which enables them to represent themselves on parade to a wider public; without the banner they would be anonymous and the parades would have no more form than a mass crowd. It is the banners that give order and structure to the parades.

The dedication of a banner or of a replacement is an opportunity to announce and celebrate this existence within the community that has brought it forth. While all fraternal organisations have initiation ceremonies for their membership, these are private affairs and the exact details of this process often remain secret (Buckley 1985-6). It is only with the appearance of a banner that these bodies cease to be secret organisations and announce their formal existence. The unfurling is the occasion when this hitherto secret and private gathering of individuals declare their existence in public. When the collective body of brethren display their unity and parade their existence among their friends and neighbours and through their neighbourhoods, it makes the distinction and marks their transformation from a secret organisation to an "organisation with secrets".

The banners to some extent stand for the men at this time, but the ceremony is also important for the banner itself.

The time of its first public display marks the culmination of many months of hard work, raising the money through raffles, dances, socials and collections to obtain the £1-2000 which a new banner costs. The unfurling ceremony offers the members and supporters who have helped pay for the banner the first opportunity to scrutinise what will be the public face of the lodge for perhaps the next 25 years. But although it is a time of bringing people together, of celebrating the success of a collective effort, there is also an element of tension and of uncertainty as to how the banner will be received. The event marks a time of transition, for the banner as much as for the lodge. The dedication ceremony marks the transformation from a secular commodity to an almost sacred object, of a commercial product into an inalienable possession of the lodge (10). The dedication removes the taint of commercialism by offering the banner to God and asking for His blessing to the object and its community. Is it mere chance that the introduction of formal unfurling ceremonies and religious dedication occurred at the same time as regalia manufacture was being removed from the local community and undertaken by professionals? Driessen (1992) compares this process of dedication in Melilla to the ritual of Christian baptism, whereby the original sin is washed away and the individual is adopted into a new moral community. The religious dedication works both on transforming the nature of the object but also on the body of men who are represented by the object who are similarly confirmed in their new status. Both Driessen and Bloch and Guggenheim (1981) stress the importance of the role of "godparents", as mediators, guarantors and overseers in this ritual. The creators and the new owners of the banner have little role to play at this dedication stage, rather it is godparents, in these cases Martin Smyth or Raymond McCormick, who act as surrogates for both the painter and the purchasers and who perform the actual rites of transformation.

Dedication ceremonies also draw attention to the larger body to which the men belong, while allowing it to focus on its local presence. Unfurling a new banner can only be a positive occasion, it pronounces a success: this may be for the appearance of a new lodge as a symbol of a general resurgence, as with the ceremony at Toome; or the triumph of local survival over tragedy and adversity, as at Bessbrook; or it may signify the continued strength and success of a local group when the event is the unfurling of a new banner to replace one that has worn out through age. Whatever the reason, the appearance of a new banner marks a success and needs to be celebrated. Much of this celebration and congratulation is done at the ceremony itself, in the most private part of a generally public event, when the meaning, importance and symbolic value of the banner is discussed.

Apart from the celebration of the local lodge, these events also offer an attentive local audience for members of the various institutions to make political rallying speeches. On July 2 1993 the traditional opening of an Orange arch was held at the Thompson Family Farm, situated in an isolated location on a narrow country lane at Kings Moss, Newtownabbey. After a small parade of some 15 Orangemen, accompanied by a pair of Lambeg drums, had walked from the local hall to the farm, a crowd of some 30-40 people gathered in the farm yard for the ceremony. It was then addressed by Ian Paisley who delivered an extremely witty and seemingly off the cuff speech, in which he managed to insult and denigrate all the major politicians in Britain and Ireland for some 15 minutes before he opened the arch, distributed free copies of his newspaper, the Protestant Telegraph, and rushed off to another arch opening at Magherafelt. This was not just another politician on the campaign trail, but was an example of one of the many opportunities that the ceremonies and rituals of the marching season provide for a national figure to address

his constituents. With minimal security and minimal publicity Paisley could confirm his relationship with a small number of his supporters, reassuring them of their shared attitudes, political and ceremonial.

ON PARADE

After the initial unfurling ceremony of a banner, they are rarely on public display and may be put on show on only one or two occasions each year. When the banners are paraded it is usually in the company of a number of others. The main AOH parades in March and August each year display about 15 banners, while at the Orange Order's Twelfth of July parades in Belfast and County Armagh over 100 banners are regularly carried. In developing an interpretation of the images on these displays a number of general issues need to be considered, which move the analysis on from a simple deconstruction of the iconographic elements to consider the individual images as part of a larger series. At each parade a large number of different images are displayed, these focus around a central theme or core image (Ortner's (1973) key symbols) which may be repeated many times at random throughout the parade. The parade may also include a number of images with no apparent connection to either the event being commemorated or the core image. The banners and images appear in a random order which does not allow any formal linear narrative to be developed, and yet many of the images clearly relate to the same period or series of events. Each organisation has different rules for the structuring of their parades; in Derry a different parent club of the Apprentice Boys is responsible for the commemorations each year and have the honour of leading the parade; in Belfast the ten districts of the Orange Order rotate the lead position annually and within each district lodges march in order of warrant number. The banner images are of no importance in this matter and on parade there is a random intermingling of the all the images. Although not

everyone watching or participating in each parade may know the significance of each image the core images are well known, and their over duplication through the procession is constantly juxtaposing them with lesser subjects. The display thus builds up a series of equivalences.

There are few constraints as to what may be depicted on a banner. The loyal orders do not allow the portrayal of living people but this is the only constraint of which I am aware. This constraint is important however and, combined with the long life and cost of the banners, it means that it is impractical to use this particular media for campaigning activities or the like (11). Therefore what is portrayed by the display of banners is a "history": a commemoration and celebration of past heroes, glories and sacrifices displayed as a morality and exemplar to the living. Or rather a number of variations of a celebratory remembrance, for the range of images varies at each parade and from year to year. As the range of banners is continuously added to, each year witnesses a slight variation of the public re-presentation of these local histories. As well as regional variations of emphasis within each organisation, loyalist and nationalist groups display their history as a feature of a wider political ideology. This means that the various parades generates a number of alternative histories and which will include contrasting versions of the same events or periods of history.

Buckley (1985-6) sees the main role of the banner images as functioning as mnemonic devices for the members themselves, referring back to the stories told to them in their initiation and having a much more restricted meaning for the "casual observer". What is required is a recognition of the importance of the commemorative events themselves and how images on the banners create the wider context in which these celebrations have meaning, in which the meaningful

histories of Ulster are created. Rose (1971) has suggested that

Ireland is almost a land without history because the troubles of the past are relived as contemporary events

but few of the myriad events of Irish history are commemorated in any way, many minor events and personalities of Irish and Ulster history remain in the public eye solely on the banners. It is only on these occasions that the wide range of historical events and personalities are gathered together and the full sweep of history laid out for display. One should also be wary of following Buckley in understating the meaning of the banners to the "casual observer". The committed member of any parading organisation will see very few of the banners on display, most of the walk will involve following his own banner with brief glimpses of those immediately in front. The banners as a display demand the "casual observer", who is in any case rarely a neutral or disinterested onlooker but part of the broader silent majority of support. Most of the histories that are displayed are based around the one or two key events or figures which enable the viewer to locate the secondary subjects within a more general but clearly positioned historical schemata.

Each banner bears two distinct images, and the choice of subject matter is left to the individual lodge. The majority are conservative and choose an image that relates to the main concerns of their organisation; but many select a second subject that depicts an event, place or person of specifically local relevance. In this manner the core images become over duplicated, while events and individuals of purely localised significance are brought to the attention of a wider audience. Take, for example, the banner of the Bessbrook Orange Lodge whose unfurling was described above. The image depicted the killing of 10 Protestant workers at Kingsmill in January 1976 by the IRA.

In Bessbrook this is commemorated by a stone memorial but its transposal onto a banner will mean that now many more people who attend Orange parades over the next 25 or more years will be reminded of the local tragedy. However this form of presentation requires a necessary recontextualisation of the event. While the Protestant victims of IRA violence will be remembered, the wider immediate context of these killings, as revenge, after the equally brutal killings of the Miami Showband by the UVF, will be forgotten (Bruce 1992). The commemoration and remembrance of these dead civilians and their elevation to the status of Protestant martyrs can only be structured on the communal forgetting of the Catholic dead who preceded them. While locally the men are commemorated as named individuals, on the parade they appear within a more general category of "innocent victims of terrorists".

The seemingly random order in which the images appear and the lack of any coherent narrative is an important factor in equalising events of apparently vastly different significance. It also condenses several hundred years of history by denying and refusing any sense of temporal order or passage. The juxtaposition of events of major significance like the battle of the Boyne with the battle of the Somme creates an equality of value between events of the recent past, still recalled by the living and remembered in oral histories and those of the distant almost mythological past (Orr 1987). History and time are condensed into a single concept of the past, an entity constructed of categories of events: sacrifice, martyrdom, betrayal, faith. This past has not ended but rather continues to structure the feelings, expectations and fears of those acting in the present. These pasts can be added to and extended with the commemoration of new local heroes, whose modest faith and sacrifices are publicly recalled each year, as their images are paraded through the streets of Ulster.

PART THREE, CHAPTER 9.
LOYALIST BANNERS AND REGALIA

This chapter considers the banners carried by the Orange Order and the Royal Black Institution, the senior and more distinctly religious branch of Orangeism, as well as and the banners of the loyalist marching bands. The images on the banners of all the loyalist organisations are linked in their subject matter and the themes of the organisations complement each other (1). The multiplicity of displays creates a multi-layered representation of loyalist memories and aspirations in which no two parades are identical in the images on display. But because banner designs are chosen by individual lodges and highlight a narrow range of themes of common interest, all the parades of a single fraternity appear very similar to each other. The Orange parades are sometimes described as an endless display of banners portraying King Billy, a description which glosses over the variety of images and the complexity of the overall display. Furthermore, because there is a common interest and often a common membership there is a degree of overlap of the images and subjects on Orange and Black banners and distinctions between the different groups or areas are often blurred. But despite the common themes, the different parades are not a simple duplication of one another, although each is a variation on a common theme.

ORANGE ORDER BANNERS

This discussion is based on banners photographed and recorded between 1990-95. These are listed in Appendices 1

and 2. To analyze this mass of images I have categorised the paintings into six main groups. Table 9.1 shows the breakdown of these categories and compares this breakdown from three different perspectives. The range of images on display at a single parade: Belfast in 1992; a composite list of all images photographed in Belfast over the period 1990-95, and a similar composite of banners photographed outside of Belfast. The 1992 parade provides an objective body of data in which the images were recorded as they appeared, while the two lists based on photographic material is entirely subjective. The number of Williamite images is probably underrepresented in these lists, particularly in the non-Belfast parades, as greater emphasis was taken in covering the full range of subject matter. The six groups of subjects into which I have categorised Orange banners are:

1) those related to the Williamite wars of 1688-91. In 1992, 91 out of 236 images depicted King William III (hereafter KW3) or aspects of the Williamite campaign. This group represented 38.5% of all the images, while KW3 appeared on 69% of all banners.

2) The second largest group portrays religious imagery. 20% of all images were religious, some of these were Biblical scenes, but the most important were the more formal and abstract symbols of Ulster Protestantism, the Crown and Open Bible which appeared on 21% of banners.

3) A large number of banners depict buildings or places, in or with significance to Northern Ireland. Many of these are churches (16% of banners portray a church) which could also be included in the previous category but they are also a part of strong emphasis on localism and grounding the loyalist experience in a sense of place.

4) Similarly this stress on local interest is shown in the

21% of banners that carry the portraits of deceased Orangemen. These are largely publicly unknown individuals, but men who were locally important or memorable Orangemen.

5) An important though small category are those images related to other events in history other than those related to the Williamite campaigns. Some of these banners depict events of specific importance to Ulster, such as the Somme, while others depict people, like Martin Luther, who are important to the broader Protestant tradition.

6) The final group is a number of banners that relate directly to the relationship with Britain. Images of Britannia and the lion or portraits of recent monarchs are a longstanding feature of Orange banners.

The commonest and most important image on display depicts KW3 in military uniform, holding his sword aloft and riding a white horse across a river (Photo 1). This has become THE emblematic image of loyalism. Its use is not constraint to a ritualised context, but appears on a wide range of everyday and souvenir objects, ranging from tea towels to mugs, plates, tee-shirts, posters, tattoos and mural paintings. King Billy even appears on banners at football matches. He is the identifying icon of Ulster Protestants. There were 55 versions of this image paraded in 1992, the remainder of the 82 banner paintings of KW3 depicted other aspects of his accession to the throne and the progress to the Boyne. This single image of King Billy appeared on one in two banners and represented nearly a quarter of all the images on display. Each of the banner paintings is distinct in so far as they are done in different styles, with more or less professionalism and skill, and many incorporate individualising elements, such as borders, frames, mottos or supporting characters in their designs. However they all derive their form from a small number of oil paintings that date from the late 17th and 18th centuries. In particular,

TABLE 9.1.
ORANGE INSTITUTION BANNERS.

	1992	All Belfast	Non Belfast
WILLIAMITE			
KW3	82	107	89
Relief of Derry	5	9	5
Mountjoy	-	2	2
Battle of Aughrim	2	2	1
Duke of Schomberg	1	2	1
Battle of Newtownbutler	1	1	-
Total	91	123	98
RELIGION			
Crown and Bible	25	29	24
My Faith Looks Up to Thee	9	13	7
Jesus	6	6	8
Biblical Stories	6	13	36
Other Religious Symbols	-	-	11
Total	46	61	86
LOCAL PLACES			
Churches	19	20	6
Orange Halls	6	7	2
Other Buildings	12	16	2
Industry	2	4	3
Total	39	47	13
PORTRAITS	26	31	12
HISTORY			
Battle of the Somme	5	7	13
Protestant History	9	19	5
Signing Ulster Covenant	3	3	1
Latimer and Ridley	3	4	8
Martin Luther	2	3	-
Total	22	36	27
BRITAIN			
Monarchs	7	8	2
Britannia	3	4	6
Secret Englands Greatness	2	5	10
Total	12	17	18
Miscellaneous	-	3	6
TOTAL NUMBER OF IMAGES	236	318	260
TOTAL NUMBER OF BANNERS	118	174	162

they draw on works by Jan Wyck from the 1690's and a painting by Benjamin West done in 1778 (Loftus 1990). The Wyck paintings depicts KW3 on a rearing white horse in the foreground of the canvas; he is facing the viewer and has his back to the battle scene, which serves as little more than a contextualising backdrop. In West's painting, William is portrayed leading his troops into the heart of the battle, his sword is drawn and it is used to point the way forward. The banner painters use either of these two paintings and sometimes incorporate elements of both into their own version.

This form of composition, of the subject on a white horse assuming a heroic pose was common throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The National Gallery and the National Portrait Gallery in London have several similar paintings and engravings of various royals, aristocrats and gentlemen on white horses. These include portraits of the Duke of Monmouth by Jan Wyck c.1675 and the Duke of Marlboro by Sir Godfrey Kneller c.1706, both of whom also included King William among their subjects. Earlier examples include a Van Dyck painting of 1638 portraying Charles I on a light brown horse and a Rembrandt portrait of Dutch merchant Frederick Rihel of 1663. A later example by Sir William Beechey depicting George III in similar pose was destroyed in the fire at Windsor Castle in 1992 (Guardian 25.11.92). In these representations, the subject is shown in contemporary costume or the uniform of a soldier, and some background scene or detail contextualises the emphasis of the portrait. The whiteness of the horse serves primarily to highlight the subject from the rest of the painting, as it does in West's Battle of the Boyne, where the eye is immediately drawn to King William by his white mount.

This realist approach was only one possible portrayal of the victorious monarch. Other early representations of King William, such as the statue erected in Dublin in 1701 and

the later and still existing ones in Bristol, Hull and St James' Square, London, preferred to draw on the image of a Roman emperor or general as the model. It was this portrayal of King Billy as the epitome of the classical ideal of heroic leadership which was at first used in popular commemorations, and it was not until much later, at least a century after the Battle of the Boyne, that the current image became widespread (Loftus 1990 pp 18-25). Even in the nineteenth century, the Imperial monarch remained as a source for popular imagery. The small Orange Museum in Loughgall, Co. Armagh has a number of membership certificates dated between 1820-56 which include an image of William based on the Dublin statue, while several Orange sashes from the same period bear an equal mixture of classical and historical portraits. Loftus attributes the transformation, from the classical ideal to heroic realism, to the growing widespread availability of reproductions of the heroic image from West's painting in engravings and printed matter in the late 18th century. This change also coincided with the emergence of a radical populist Protestantism, the formation of the Orange Order and the adoption by the lower classes of William as a symbol of their difference and distinction from the Catholic peasantry. Throughout the earlier 18th century many of the Williamite celebrations had been a more genteel, society affair of the Dublin Anglo-Irish upper classes to whom the timeless, classical ideal of leadership was no doubt attractive. The shift from bourgeois to populist commemoration over a period of decades coincided with widespread changes in aesthetic taste which favoured realism over the previously dominant classicism. The increasing commercialisation of production and marketing of works of art, especially through the sale of engraved copies, in turn made a wider number of copies available for public viewing. These changing social practices thus favoured the adoption of the heroic King William over the classical in popular representations.

While depictions of the battle scenes do occur on some contemporary memorabilia and on some banners, on the majority the image is simplified to the extent that William is abstracted from the specific historical events and, instead of the realism of the original paintings, he is again depicted in an idealised manner. This ideal image portrays a figure alone on horseback, crossing a river or similar body of water, in a landscape of green fields or rolling hills under a blue sky. He is dressed in a red frock coat, with white breeches and thigh length black boots; frequently he wears a sash or belt in royal blue and a soft hat with an orange or white plume. His white horse frequently has a royal blue saddle cloth. In a few of the paintings there are indications that this is part of a battle scene, as the figure is shown accompanied by other riders and the conflict represented by a dead body underfoot (Photo 2), but by and large this is an abstract, symbolic figure removed from any specific historical context.

Although he retains the realistic dress of a 17th century military figure, William has become the regal, heroic figure of an earlier genre of painting; his pose is that of a relaxed, unthreatened, natural leader, who connotes the aura of majesty, he is a man born to be King. The structured colour of his clothing, usually a combination of red, white and blue denotes him specifically as a British monarch. He stands alone on his white horse, unchallenged and unchallengeable. His raised sword becomes less a sign of any forthcoming conflict than a simple symbolic affirmation of his status as leader, as a warrior king. The perspective of him on horseback striding over the water does not occur in any of the oil paintings, it is an addition of the banner painters and obviously refers to the River Boyne. Portrayed alone in a landscape which is devoid of any sign of human agency, he is the undisputed master of all he surveys. His solitude further suggests a primordial

position, a solitary figure in an unpopulated natural environment, this is no mere mortal but an idealised heroic figure who stands somewhere between man and god.

The colour of the horse is perhaps the most critical feature of any representation of King William for Protestants. The style and detail of the painting, the structure of the composition and the colour scheme for William's dress may vary, but there is no flexibility with regard to the colour of his horse. No definitive record exists about the colour of the horse which he rode at the Boyne, and in some early oil paintings he is depicted riding a dark horse. But for Ulster Protestants, no other colour except white is acceptable (2). In 1950 Belfast councillors vetoed the purchase of a painting of William by Jan Wyck because he was mounted on a brown horse (Loftus 1990 p36). Much has been made of the importance of the white-ness of the horse; Loftus has argued that the white horse was a symbol of the Hanoverian monarchy in Britain and that Irish Williamites adopted the colour as a symbol of their continued allegiance to the monarchy. This may well have been a factor, since the Hanoverian monarchs were frequently represented on early Orange banners and the riotous Orangemen were keen to affirm their loyalty while disobeying the law, but it does not necessarily explain very much. For instance, it does not explain why the white horse should have become an appropriate symbol specifically for the Hanoverian monarchy.

I have already noted how it was an artistic convention from at least the early 17th century to depict gentlemen and others self-important figures in the pose of a heroic warrior on a white horse. This in turn draws on an earlier tradition in fine art that also demanded that the subject appeared on a white horse. When Uccello painted St George slaying the dragon, circa 1460, his warrior saint was mounted on a white steed; this pattern continued through

Tintoretto's painting in the mid-sixteenth century to Moreau's Raphael inspired painting of the same subject of 1890. When St Michael was depicted in his battle against the rebel angels, he too rode a white horse (Baddeley and Fraser 1989) and in a similar portrayal with sword raised and smiting the enemy, Santiago (St James) entered the iconography of Andean Peru as an Hispanised and Christian incarnation of the Inca thunder god (Silverblatt 1988). I would suggest that the custom of painting gentlemen on white horses drew on this tradition by which the whiteness of the horse reflected the status of the rider. The white horse thus becomes a symbol of the natural, spiritual purity of the heroic subject. As such, the white horse remains today a symbol of purity and goodness, one only has to think of the classical but cliched westerns of the 1940's and 1950's when white and black symbolised good and evil. The white horse has been widely used as a symbol of religious purity; it raises the status of the rider to one of Holy Warrior, defender of the faith. He has become God's right arm, and, bearing the sword of righteousness, his military battles are transformed into a Holy War.

Besides these broader European traditions, the white horse also featured prominently in Ireland in Celtic mythology and custom as a symbol of leadership or magical status. Giraldus Cambrensis writing in the 12th century reports of a people in Ulster who conferred kingship with a ritual involving ritual intercourse and the sacrifice of a white mare (Gerald of Wales 1982 pp 109-110). The midsummer festivals and the August festival of Lughnasa both incorporated horse racing, horse washing and fire purification (Fraser 1890, 1920, MacNeill 1962). One reported example of fire ritual involved a wooden frame with a horse's head which was covered in a white sheet (Hislop 1853) but, as with so much Irish popular custom and culture, these traditions are largely undocumented. However, the horse retains a central symbolism in some

surviving folk traditions, such as the Wren Boys in County Kerry who parade with models of white horses on St Stephen's Day (MacDonagh 1983). Macrory (1988 p278, quoting Graham 1829) recounts a popular tradition which survived at least until 1829, that during the siege of Derry

hopes of salvation were being sustained by a firm belief 'that at midnight every night an Angel, mounted on a snow-white horse and brandishing a sword of bright colour, was seen to compass the city by land and water'.

The magical, mystical white horse was also a central element in the recent feature film "Into the West", a film with a strong social critique of contemporary urban Ireland. These multiple traditions seem to add to the potential depth of resonance of the symbol, each connection adding further layers of meaning. The continued insistence that King William ride a white horse must be seen as more than a late 18th century legitimisation strategy, and instead viewed as part of the broader process by which the strictly realist historical representation is eroded and a polysemic symbolic figure is constructed in its place. This iconic figure includes within it mnemonic references to specific historical events, but it also addresses ideals of civil and religious authority, the form of legitimate action and more abstract notions of good and evil. This symbolic King William should be seen as a composite figure, the individual as monarch, as warrior and as religious leader. Once this range of concepts have become condensed within a single image, they can then be elaborated on through by the broader display of images and icons during the performance of the parade. King William is not simply the most important image but he is also the central figure, the pivot from which all the other images derive their valency. From this perspective, one must argue that the abstract King William of the banners is not just a simplified version of the figure portrayed in the battle scenes, but he now represents a completely different and

much more complex individual who is portrayed alongside the realistic heroic warrior king that is shown fighting the battle of the Boyne.

The abstract William is therefore the polysemic centrepiece that anchors all the other images on display, it provides the numerous points of contact that helps to weave them together into a single elaborate text. But on many of the banners, KW3 remains anchored and historicised by the references to the battles and events of the campaign of 1688-91, and as such he is located as part of the historical narrative of the campaign whose seminal events are scattered randomly throughout the display. The vitality of the image emerges from this oscillation between the abstraction of the symbol and the concrete historicism of the heroic icon. He remains both a representation of empirical fact and an elusive symbol.

Numerous banners illustrate aspects of the events of 1688-91 (Photos 2-4). The emphasis remains on William, the man, and his relationship with Ulster, rather than on the battles fought. These images are scattered randomly through the length of the parade and are not presented as part of a linear narrative, but nevertheless the events can be structured to recall the major themes of the Williamite campaign and describe the progress towards triumph. But storytelling does not seem to be the principal reason for the appearance of these particular images; they do not recount history but instead they have been chosen to illustrate the relationship of King Billy to the Ulster Protestant people.

From a narrative perspective, the banners show William arriving in England at Torbay in November 1688, he is seen being rowed ashore and as he steps on land. At least one banner depicts the coronation of William and Mary in London. These are the only things we are told of his

background, he is an outsider who has been crowned King of Britain and Ireland. Much more is made of his time in Ireland, his arrival at Carrickfergus is shown on a number of banners and others portray his journey through Ulster, at his departure from both Belfast and Hillsborough Castles on route for the Boyne. Of the campaign itself he is greeted by his troops on arrival at the camp, he is widely depicted leading his soldiers into battle and finally he is shown having a wound dressed. Although these events climax in the battle of the Boyne, the theme seems to be less a journey towards military success than illustrations of William's character and the moral reasons for his status. His coronation emphasises his legitimacy as a true monarch rather than a usurper or outsider. The role of his wife and co-monarch confirm and underline her husband's status. His status is acknowledged by the warm greetings he receives during his journey in England and Ireland, his arrival is welcomed and he comes as a saviour rather than as a threat. Later his honest intentions are confirmed, when he risks his life in and for Ireland, by leading his troops into battle and suffering the consequences by being wounded. His risk is emphasised by banners which depict the death of William's general Schomberg at the Boyne. These depictions of his journey and battle scenes help to humanise the atemporal, abstract hero figure in a manner that enables him to be held up as a practical example of what is to be expected of all true Ulstermen. The majority of the banners carry the timeless image of an idealised, heroic leader who epitomises the values of duty, action and sacrifice, but this mythicisation is tempered by the images which focus on the mundane, practical aspects of his life. However, the Orange interest in William rests with his example in the fight to save Ireland from Catholicism, and no attention is paid to his life after the battle of the Boyne, or any other features of his reign as King.

The 1688-91 campaign is recalled in Ulster with the quatrain of "Derry, Aughrim, Enniskillen and the Boyne", but the three events which do not involve William are only represented on Orange banners in a minor way and feed the wider discourse on the role of the individual and the nature of morally justified action, rather than celebrations of military triumph (3). On the banners military victories reward moral superiority: the Relief of Derry, as the supply ship Mountjoy breaks the boom across the River Foyle, illustrates the need to maintain faith and resolve in the face of adversity; the battle of Newtownbutler in Fermanagh in July 1689 emphasises the importance of self reliance and local resistance; and the rout of the Catholic forces at Aughrim in July 1691, a year after William had returned to England, focuses on the need to continue the fight, to go on the offensive to complete the victory, rather than to allow the enemy to remain a threat.

Apart from the Williamite events, the most prominent group of images are related to aspects of the Protestant faith (46/236 or 20% of all banner images in 1992). This number and proportion would be even larger if one included in this category all those subjects, historical and spatial, which have some relationship to religion. Although religion is a key element in William's significance to Ulster, his faith is not directly referred to on the banners which have been considered so far, which have dealt with the worldly facets of his status and authority. The most common religious image depicts an open Bible laying on a red cushion (Photo 5). On the Bible lie a crossed mace and a sword and a Crown; this group of objects is illuminated by a beam of light flowing from an "all-seeing eye" an image that has been borrowed from masonic iconography and also appeared on many early Trade Union banners (Gorman 1986). This painting refers to several important elements of the Ulster Protestant faith (Taylor 1984). Firstly the open Bible is

accessible to all who wish to use it, and it is not necessary to have the mediation of a priest or religious hierarchy to have an understanding of Biblical truth or to establish a relationship with God. This is one of the fundamental distinctions made between Protestantism and Catholicism. Lay interpretations of the Bible, of morality, and lay justifications of action carried out in God's name are as valid as any. Secondly, the Crown and the symbols of royal power, the mace and sword rest on the open Bible; royal authority, and all human authority that is derived from it, is contingent on support for the Protestant faith. There is no abstract royal authority separate from a religious authority. Finally, the Bible and the symbols of royalty are illuminated by the light from the eye of God, he who oversees all and who will be the ultimate arbiter. This also relates back to the Williamite images, since it becomes clear that his status as King derives not merely from secular acceptance or from moral righteousness, but from his Protestant faith. His Royal authority ultimately derives from his faith, an implication that is made clear on many of the Black banners which bear the motto "No Faith, No Crown". Many of the Orange banners also carry phrases that emphasise this connection, "Fear God, Honour the Queen", "For the Throne is Established by Righteousness" and "The secret of England's Greatness" serve to define the nature of and constraints on royal authority. This last slogan is also reproduced on a number of banners which depict a painting of Queen Victoria handing a Bible to a kneeling Indian prince (Photo 6). The authority of the monarch comes from a Protestant faith, but it is their duty to defend and spread that faith wherever possible, to proselytize the heathen, since spreading the faith in turn provides the basis for consolidating secular authority.

While the key concern here has been with the religious basis of royal authority, it is clear that this is part of

a triadic relationship which apart from God must also include the individual believer, and it is also clear that the relationship between the three is not a linear hierarchy of God-Crown-Individual as a mirror of the Catholic triad God-Pope/Church-Man in which truth passes downwards and service/obedience back up. Rather Protestantism demands a situation in which the individual and the crown stand in a similar relationship to God and the authority of the monarch is conditionally accepted by the individual, not imposed on him. The motto "Fear God, Honour the Queen" clarifies the duties of the individual within this covenant. This principle of the covenant or mutually binding contract has been seen as one of the distinctive themes of loyalist political thinking (Miller 1978). Protestants accept the authority of secular rulers providing the ruler acts within the terms of the faith. If the ruler is felt to be compromising the faith then the contract is deemed to have been broken, and if all Protestants have a right to interpret the faith and the contract for themselves there is likely to be many views on what action is acceptable and justifiable. With the modern day distancing of the monarch from the affairs of government, this concept allows loyalists to challenge or break the law and even threaten armed resistance to the will of the Queen's Government when they deem it necessary, and yet still proclaim their loyalty to the monarch.

Biblical stories appear on a small number of Belfast banners, but in the smaller towns and rural areas a high proportion of Biblical characters are depicted at the parades. This mirrors Bruce's assertion that loyalism is most readily expressed through the activities of the paramilitaries in the urban centres but in the rural areas it finds voice in evangelical Protestantism (Bruce 1994). The rural Orange banners are closer in content to those of the Royal Black Institution, with a substantial overlap of subject matter and duplication of religious themes. In

contrast the regalia of the Belfast Black preceptories display more interest in secular ideals. These Biblical images will be considered more fully in discussion of the Black banners.

Besides the Bible stories a number of banners elaborate on the relationship of an individual to God. Over the motto "My Faith looks up to Thee", a woman is depicted desperately hanging on to a cross amidst a stormy sea, a shaft of light shines through the cloudy skies onto the bedraggled woman, a ray of hope that God is watching over her in her time of trouble (Photo 7). This can be interpreted as a general commentary on the relationship of the believer to God, demanding that one trusts in God and keep faith even when all seems hopeless, a theme that underlies many of the religious and historical images. But it can also be taken more literally as the ideal female response. While male figures are shown taking decisive actions, women, who rarely appear on banners but are marginalised as they are on the parades, are depicted passively clinging on to their faith, "trust in God" is all these images offer. The banners offer no form of action legitimised by faith for women to take in their own interests. Faith gives women hope whereas it inspires men to action.

This contrast runs through many of the images of historical events, personalities and places which link the more universal interests of Protestantism with the local interests of Ulster. These include Martin Luther, the signing of the covenant in Edinburgh, the mass drowning of Protestants in the river Bann during the Irish rebellion of 1641, Oliver Cromwell and Cromwell's forces taking Drogheda in 1649. These images all relate to the theme of Protestant faith and martyrdom, but also provide a wider framework for understanding the importance of the events of 1688-91. In terms of a narrative structure, we can see a series of

events which involves a linked chain of contrasting actions and reactions: Luther's dissent and the Reformation leading to burning of Latimer and Ridley (Photo 8); the violent rebellion of 1641 was followed by the Cromwellian campaign to restore Protestant security, but still in 1685 Margaret Wilson could be drowned for her faith. Collectively these events provide the prelude to, and the justification for the popular resistance of Derry and support for the Williamite campaign. While the events of 1641 were a focus of concern in Ulster prior to 1690, many wealthier Irish Protestants were not unduly concerned with James' accession (Barnard 1990, Gillespie 1992). Rather this is a case of hindsight being used to justify the contemporary siege mentality. The images also highlight the seemingly constant attempts by the Catholic establishment to destroy the Protestant reformation, and therefore the need for vigilance and the legitimacy of any resistance. Protestant history becomes a spiral of action and re-action, in which the readiness to risk persecution and face death is balanced by a knowledge that these are legitimate fears which may need to be acted upon. All these images with an historical theme further illustrate the mutual intertwined relations between England, Scotland and Ireland, with Catholicism represented as a threat in all three countries at some time.

Two more recent historical events feed into this discourse of trust, betrayal and action. The banner of the Rising Sons of India LOL 1300 portrays the "Storming of Jhansi" on one side and the Cawnpore memorial on the other. These refer to events during the Indian mutiny of 1857-8: at Cawnpore the Europeans who had been besieged, surrendered to the mutineers and were then massacred while held prisoner. At Jhansi the following year British troops stormed the city and recaptured it against superior odds; again the European prisoners had been killed (Moon 1989). These events provide a parallel to the religious murders of

the 1640's in Ireland and create a retrospective justification for the refusal to trust offers of safe passage from Derry in 1689. The fear of betrayal, the mistrust of the Other, remain constant themes within loyalist thinking and provide the rationalisation of the paramilitary, the need to be ready and willing to defend oneself and one's brethren.

These concerns underlay the Protestant reaction to plans for Home Rule in the years before the First World War. The campaign to oppose Home Rule and by extension the British Government, is commemorated by banners depicting Edward Carson, the Unionist leader at this time (Photo 9), and the signing of the Ulster Covenant in September 1912 in which some 500,000 men and women declared a refusal to recognise Home Rule and vowed to oppose it. The idea of a covenant, a public avowal of unity and faith recurs throughout Ulster Protestant history and, as will be shown below, this receives its justification in Biblical antecedents. The paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force, formed in 1912 to oppose Home Rule, is not commemorated on Orange banners, although they are celebrated on the regalia carried by many of the bands on parades, but the Clyde Valley, the vessel used in a 1914 gun-running operation is depicted. This rebellious prelude to crisis culminates in the battle of the Somme which is commemorated on numerous banners, both via depictions of heroic troops storming the German lines and by portraits of Orangemen who died in the war (Photo 10). The pre-war crisis in which the Ulster Protestants both fought to remain part of Britain but also challenged the wishes of the government of the state, is the prelude to the events of the war when their loyalty was finally expressed by willing sacrifice. Their actions are contrasted (in spirit if not in formal expression for the Other is always absent from the discourse of the banners), by the actions of the Irish Republicans who rose against the British state at Easter 1916 at a time when the Ulster

Volunteers were fighting abroad. Republican treachery and betrayal are constantly contrasted with unionist loyalty and sacrifice (Photo 11).

The remaining banners depict a wide range of people, places and subjects which are of largely local interest, individuals and parish churches that are unknown outside their immediate locality, numerous minor examples of Ulster Protestant heroism or leadership. These men are memorable as members of the Orange Institution and remain unknown outside of the Order, or they are commemorated because they have fought and died for a British Ulster in war. A number depict more prominent personalities: vitriolic populist orators from last century, such as Dr Henry Cooke and the Rev RR Kane, early Orange leaders or supporters like Colonel Verner and the Duke of York, politicians such as Carson and Disraeli, members of the Royal Family, Victoria, Prince Albert and George VI or lesser members of the aristocracy who have a particular connection with Ulster. This local pride and rootedness is further valorised with paintings of local buildings ranging from Dan Winter's Cottage (the birthplace of the Order) to Belfast City Hall by way of numerous Orange Halls and parish churches, country houses and castles and industrial sites such as the Harland and Wolff shipyards. Orangeism, in spite of its iconography of Monarchs and Biblical Heroes, famous battles and the sacrifices of the martyrs, remains grounded in the mundane localism of the little known people and places of the north of Ireland.

In spite of the numerous references to events in Irish history and in particular those related to Ulster, there are a number of important exclusions. The banners do not narrate in a linear manner, but present an episodic history and concentrate on events that replicate the tragedies and heroism of the 17th century. The Somme is the last historical event that features on the banners. There are

few references to the violence that followed the war and partition, and no overt acknowledgement of the contemporary Troubles. An occasional Orangeman is described as "Murdered by the enemies of the Empire", another painting depicts three burning buildings and declares "In memory of our friends who died because of their faith, 17 June 1922", but neither banner explicitly recalls the circumstances. Lord Mountbatten is portrayed on one banner which was repainted to include his portrait, after he was killed by the IRA but the banner does not refer to the circumstance of his death. Only the recently replaced banner of Bessbrook LOL 959 acknowledges that the two Orangemen portrayed were "Innocent Victims, Murdered...by the IRA" otherwise the enemies of Ulster remain an un-named threat, while the rule that no living figures may be displayed on banners means that contemporary public figures or loyalist heroes are absent. So although the banners depict a history of the protestant people, it is a partial one, one that is seen as an endless cycle of conflict, fear of betrayal and sacrifice, one that appears to have stopped in its tracks at the moment of its supreme expression of collective identity, the sacrifice of the Somme. The past becomes an object of veneration and having internalised the lessons of the past, the future is reduced to predictable certainty.

ROYAL BLACK INSTITUTION

The banners of the Royal Black Institution offer a different perspective on this theme of a collective identity which is rooted in a shared faith and a common threat by narrating history through Biblical metaphor. The majority of Black banners depict religious images of one kind and predominately stories from the Old Testament of the Bible (Photos 13-16). These are listed in Appendix 2. Table 9.2 summarises and categorises this list. Most banners which do not depict Biblical stories carry images or symbols that are religious in content. The most common

TABLE 9.2
ROYAL BLACK INSTITUTION BANNERS.

Old Testament Stories		New Testament Stories	
Moses	35	Three Wise Men	16
Elijah	30	St John's Vision	4
David and Goliath	29	St Paul	2
Noah and the Dove	22	Jesus	1
Daniel	15	Good Samaritan	1
Adam and Eve	12	Total	24
Rahab and the Spies	9	Religious Symbols	
Joseph	8		
Abraham and Isaac	6	Cross and Crown	19
Solomon	5	My Faith Looks up	12
Jacob	4	Bible and Cross	7
Angel and the Book	3	Total	38
King Hiram	3	Others	
Gideon and his 300	2		
Ezekial's Vision	1	Arch and Symbols	28
Jephthah's Daughter	1	Portraits	23
Joshua	1	Places/Buildings	13
Rebekah	1	Miscellaneous	10
Ruth and Naomi	1	Williamite	2
Total	188	Total	76

TOTAL 326 Images

of these images, which functions almost as a coat of arms of the Institution, is listed in the table as Arch and Symbols (Photo 13). This depicts an arch (described to me as the arch of Solomon) enclosing and surrounded by symbols of the RBI. The arch usually contains the phrase "Holiness to the Lord", while the key stone is an open Bible. Within the arch is a red cross with an open-palmed hand in the centre and either side of the cross a series of symbols at the top a heart pierced by an arrow on the left and gardeners tools on the right, in the middle the lamb of God carrying an Ulster flag and a sling with five stones and, at the bottom, a builders compass and square with the letter G in the centre and a burning bush. Underneath the arch is the motto "In Hoc Signo Vincas" and beneath this a

skull and cross-bones on a coffin. On each side of the arch is a figure dressed in an exotic costume holding a cross, above the arch, in the centre, Noah's ark with a rainbow over and either side a sun and a moon with seven stars. Finally, an all seeing eye shines its light over the whole image. Most of these symbols, the cross, Bible, Noahs Ark, Burning Bush etc are the subject of banners in their own right, while the rest are badges of the Black Institution. In form the design is derived from 18th century Masonic banners and aprons. Another common image depicts a red cross and a crown illuminated by a light from heaven with the motto "No Cross, No Crown" (the title of a work by the Quaker William Penn written in the 1660's). The banner "My Faith Looks Up To Thee", described in the section on the Orange banners, appears regularly, as do portraits of former Blackmen and local buildings. The images of Noah and the dove, David and Goliath, Jacob's Dream and the Three Wise Men also feature on Orange banners, but at the Black parades these religious themes dominate all others while Williamite images almost never appear on Black banners. If there is doubt as to the ability of the audience to understand and interpret this range of Biblical images and stories, one should note that a survey found that in 1989 45% of Protestants claimed to go to church at least once a week and Sunday school attendance remains very popular for children (Cairns 1992).

In the only article published to date on these banners, Anthony Buckley (1985-6) analyzed a selection of Black banners displayed at the last Saturday parades in August 1982. Some ten years apart, there are no substantial differences in the range of the images in our two samples. Buckley's analysis, which focus specifically on those banners depicting Biblical themes, includes all of the stories mentioned above, plus several others including: Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac; Jacob's Dream; and Gideon leading his 300 men to defeat the Midianites and

Amelekites; all of which appeared in lesser numbers in my own samples. Buckley argues that the stories portrayed do not represent a summary of the main events or issues of the Bible but are a "biased sample of the Bible as a whole" (p 21). The common theme running through all of the stories is of

an individual or group of people who have found favour in the eyes of God confronting alien people...When someone has been chosen by God, and where in return he has been loyal to God, then he will in consequence prosper...This theme is the encounter between heathens or foreigners with God's chosen people (Buckley 1985-6 p 22).

In this there are obviously parallels with how many Ulster Protestants perceive their own situation. The British Israelite analysis takes a more literal approach and believe that the people of Britain are descendants of the lost tribe of Israel, and Queen Elizabeth a direct descendant of King David. An article in the Orange Order's programme for the Twelfth parades in 1990, claims that the tribe of Dan should be identified with the Tuatha de Danaan one of the mythical founding peoples of Ireland, and that

Zarah and Pharez were...born to Judah the fourth son of Jacob...Zarah's descendants left the other tribes while in Egypt, and set forth to other destinations. Some founded Troy...(others) established the Kingdom of Ulster as early as 1480 BC (Orange Order 1990 pp 36-37).

Without speculating about how widely such views are held, Buckley acknowledges it as a "small but influential number of individuals" (p 23). One such individual was the Rev. Robert Bradford, MP for South Belfast until he was killed by the IRA, who argued that the "Irish question" was really part of the problems of the Middle East (Garland 1991). Bradford's memory is maintained on at least two wall murals in Belfast. But the ideals of the British Israelites are also built into the design and symbolism of some banners. A member of Bleary Crimson Star LOL 12, sent me an

information sheet explaining the symbolism of their banner which was produced for the unfurling ceremony (Photo 12). This banner depicts the Union Jack flying above a map of the British Isles and the explanation states that the:

Union Jack, which represented the union of the inhabitants of the British Isles under the Davidic Throne...(and) represents the prophetic union of Jacob of Redeemed Israel to serve with God...The claret of the British Isles: Represents the blood sacrifice of Christ...The sea green background: Represents the emerald fourth foundation stone of the new Jerusalem.

The explanation ends by stating that the temporal message of the banner design is "HERE WE ARE; THE BRITISH OF ULSTER; HERE WE ARE AND HERE WE STAY". This is a unique example of an explanation of banner symbolism, and I would not wish to generalise too much from this single explanation, but it does show that the membership of the Loyal Orders is clearly aware of the potential of banners to state more than the obvious.

While accepting the main points of Buckley's analysis, it is possible to add some further observations. In contrast to much religious teaching this analogy suggests that despite the hardships and suffering, in some cases over many years, the faithful will have their faith rewarded on this earth rather than in a later life. Noah, Abraham, Moses, Rahab, David and Elijah are all individuals who took risks for their faith but reaped the reward in their own lifetimes. Joseph and Daniel became rulers in their adopted lands, while all concern the long struggle of the Israelites to rule in the land of their forefathers. This expectation of earthly recognition of righteous faith is a major tenet of Protestantism and one that distinguishes it from Roman Catholicism with its promise of heavenly bliss (Weber 1985). This is a theme that runs through loyalist iconography and commemorations. The sacrifice at the Somme differs from the sacrifice of the Easter martyrs in so far

as one is celebrated for achieving its aims while the other provides inspiration for future martyrs to take up the cause. The victory at the Somme therefore confirms the status of the Ulster Protestants as God's Chosen people, the covenant of faith that overrides pragmatic politics remains intact.

There are some other points that are worth drawing out of these general themes, and which link these ideas more closely to those expressed on the Orange banners. Firstly, one should note the importance of the prophet or visionary, individuals acting or encouraging others to act on the basis of a personal communication with their God (Taylor 1984). Some banners illustrate the Biblical stories of St John's vision described in the book of Revelation and the visions of the prophet Ezekial, these stories exemplify the fundamental difference between Protestant and Catholic traditions: the direct relationship between an individual and God. While many of the contemporary 'prophets' may well be religious preachers of some sort, their faith and authority is not necessarily dependant on a religious hierarchy. This is highlighted by banners which depict this communication via an angel, offering succour to Elijah, appearing to Jacob or simply descending from heaven with an open Bible in its hand. To communicate with God and to carry his message all that is required is faith and not any special training in the priesthood. But, and this leads on to the second point, it is not sufficient simply to have faith, one must be prepared to act on one's beliefs as well. All the Biblical characters cited earlier were prepared to do whatever God demanded of them, they were prepared to risk ridicule (Noah), to act against common morality (Jacob tricks his brother Esau, Abraham is prepared to kill his son), to betray one's own people (Rahab), and to oppose the lawful government when necessary (Moses, Elijah), if in so doing they were furthering God's desires. These examples are all taken from the Old

Testament, but the most common image from the New Testament gives a similar example, as the Wise men follow the star to Bethlehem. While the banners highlight the "individual or group of people who have found favour in the eyes of God confronting alien peoples", they also demand that faith be prioritised at the expense of elements of human law, wisdom and morality. These banners use Biblical authority to legitimise disobedience to civil authority, and show how it can be justified to take up arms. They emphasise the role of the leader or spokesman in provoking rebellion or resistance (this is always a male, because the images have no role for women except passivity), and they confirm the right and justice of using physical force when necessary.

This point is made frequently by the number of banners that depict David and Goliath (Photo 14), framed by the motto "He that would be free must strike the blow" (and balanced by the Orange slogan of "Trust in God and keep your powder dry"). Banners depict David tending the flocks, with his friend Jonathan and collecting sling stones from the river. But it is his clash with Goliath, usually portrayed by David in the act of removing the head of the prone giant with his own sword, that is the most prominent image. There are clear analogies in these images with the parallel status of King William on the Orange banners, for although David's status was derived directly from God, it was his readiness to display his faith and fight the seemingly superior opponent Goliath that marked the first step on his path to kingship.

The Black banners offer a Biblical authority for many of the ideals that are expressed on the Orange banners. Just as the membership of the two bodies is similar, so the two separate groups of images provide solutions to the Ulster Protestant quandary from two distinct perspectives. One can resort to either historical fact or Biblical narrative but both will confirm that one must trust in one's faith but

also be ready and willing to act in one's own interests. Prophets and leaders may be important, but only in so far as they too are willing to act in the interests of the people. One must be wary of the Lundy, the traitor in the midst. The stories of the Old Testament, the history of the 17th century and memories of parents and grandparents all confirm the same thesis, that faith without action or action without faith is insufficient, but the two together will win the day. Religion, history and politics become inseparably entwined in sustaining the identity of the Ulster Protestants, the Black banners may emphasise the religious nature and ideals of the organisation but they also provide a justification for the resort to arms that has so readily been raised in Irish history, that beyond the accepted civil law there is a higher law which permits and even demands both pro-active and re-active self defence.

THE BANDS

While paramilitarism can be legitimised through the iconography of the Orange and Black banners, the organisations do not celebrate the recent or contemporary paramilitary tradition outside of that sanctioned by the state. It has been left to the more raucous "blood and thunder" bands to introduce overt representations of paramilitarism into the visual displays of Protestant unity paraded across the province. Bell (1991) argues that these displays of paramilitary insignia and the affection of paramilitary style dark glasses and uniforms are little more than acts of bravado and should be regarded as a display of youthful defiance at the sober and serious Orangemen, rather than indications of active involvement. Some bands are offered a new set of uniforms or equipment if they will carry paramilitary flags, some reject this offer, some are happy to accept. The relationship is more complex than Bell would suggest (4).

Although they do not constitute an organised collective body, the bands are nevertheless an important element of the visual display of the parades. Most urban bands are now independent of the loyal orders and are therefore free to determine their own style of dress and music, but they still remain under the authority of the parade organisers who have established rules of acceptable behaviour and styles, and who may, therefore, ban bands from parading or object to aspects of their display. The parade organisers stress their opposition both to the paramilitary groups and to expressions of support at Orange parades, but they are usually unwilling or unable to stop the bands continuing with their displays. Among traditional bands there was little call for an independent set of colours and any display, commonly a version of King Billy and the band name, was carried on the bass drum. While this is still often decorated with name and designs, increasingly the independent bands vie with the lodges in the display of colours.

Bands do not parade with full size banners, but they do often carry bannerettes of the same form as the Lodges and may also carry a number of flags, although these are carried furled by the colour party. The Nelson Drive Flute Band from Londonderry carry six flags and a bannerette but it is more usual for a band to carry about three flags. The most common flags are the Ulster cross, the St Andrews cross of Scotland and the Union Flag, but many bands also carry flags commemorating the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Young Citizens Volunteers and the battles they fought in the First World War, and in recent years the unofficial Independent Ulster flag has appeared on Orange parades. While the loyal orders commemorate the Ulster Volunteers of the First World War, they focus on the Battle of the Somme and the sacrifice of the soldiers willing to die for their country, rather than the memory of the organisation which the bands perpetrate.

The name and insignia of the 1916 Ulster Volunteer Force was adopted, along with its motto "For God and Ulster", by the first loyalist paramilitary group to appear since partition, and who predated the current Troubles by carrying out their first killings in 1966 (Boulton 1973). Their emblem, and those of the other loyalist paramilitary group the UDA, is frequently found emblazoned on the walls of the working class areas of Belfast (see section on murals), and the flags carried by the bands must be considered as a declaration of support for the contemporary group as well as remembering the past (Photos 17-20). The banners of the loyal orders avoid reference to contemporary political issues or organisations and ignores the Troubles unless it is to commemorate a member who has been killed, but even then the circumstances or wider context of the death are ignored. In this way, both John McMichael and Brian Robinson who were killed as a result of their paramilitary activities can be commemorated on banners (McMichael on the Liverpool Campsie Club of the ABOD [see also New Ulster Defender 1:3 1992] and Robinson by LOL 633 Old Boyne Island Heroes) as former members of the Apprentice Boys and Orange Order respectively.

As all flags are carried furled, the main display of paramilitary regalia is on the bannerettes. Many of these do not directly refer to a paramilitary group by name, but simply adopt an emblem in a similar style. Typically this will depict the crossed flags of Britain, Scotland and Ulster either side of the Red Hand emblem of Ulster and surmounted by a crown. Both the UVF and the UDA feature the Red Hand prominently in their visual rhetoric. The Armagh True Blues, Clogher Protestant Boys, Maghera Sons of William, Portavogie Red Hand Defenders, Red Hand Defenders of South Fermanagh and Ulster Young Loyalists from Castlewellan are among the many bands carrying this style of bannerette. The Cloughfern Young Conquerors (Photo 18) and Belfast's Roden Street Defenders and William McCullough

Memorial Band all display UDA regalia, while the Monkston Flute Band are one of many bands to carry the symbol and battle honours of the 1914 UVF.

Apart from drum designs, few of the bands incorporate anything except heraldic style images within their display: the aforementioned Nelson Drive Flute Band carry a quartered bannerette depicting the Closing of the Gates at Derry, King Billy, the Somme and a member of the B Specials. Although these are standard Orange images, as I shall argue in the section on murals, this association of paramilitary and Orange symbols is an important feature of working class loyalist iconography which has developed in the last decade or so. Another bannerette bears a painting of Garry "Lofty" Lynch with the words "Murdered by Terrorists, at the going down of the sun and in the morning we will remember him " (Photo 20), a motto that is used on a number of paramilitary memorial murals; while the Stevie McCrea Memorial Band carry the portrait of this former member of the Red Hand Commando, a small paramilitary group founded in 1972 by John McKeague (Bruce 1992).

While the displays of their elders are coded in historical or Biblical references, it is perhaps not surprising that it would be the young working class males who make the least subtle references to the contemporary Troubles and lodge the most explicit support for a violent response to the threats to Ulster's status. While this reaches its fullest expression on the streets of Belfast, their displays on parades are becoming increasingly bold and provocative. With their numerous flags and banners, in combination with the loud and raucous music of the flutes and drums, and the shrill colours of their uniforms, it means that it is the bands which come more and more to attract the senses and dominate events. While the messages of support for violence are coded among the religious and historical banners of the Orange and the Black, the

bandsmen make little pretence and openly proclaim support for the paramilitary groups.



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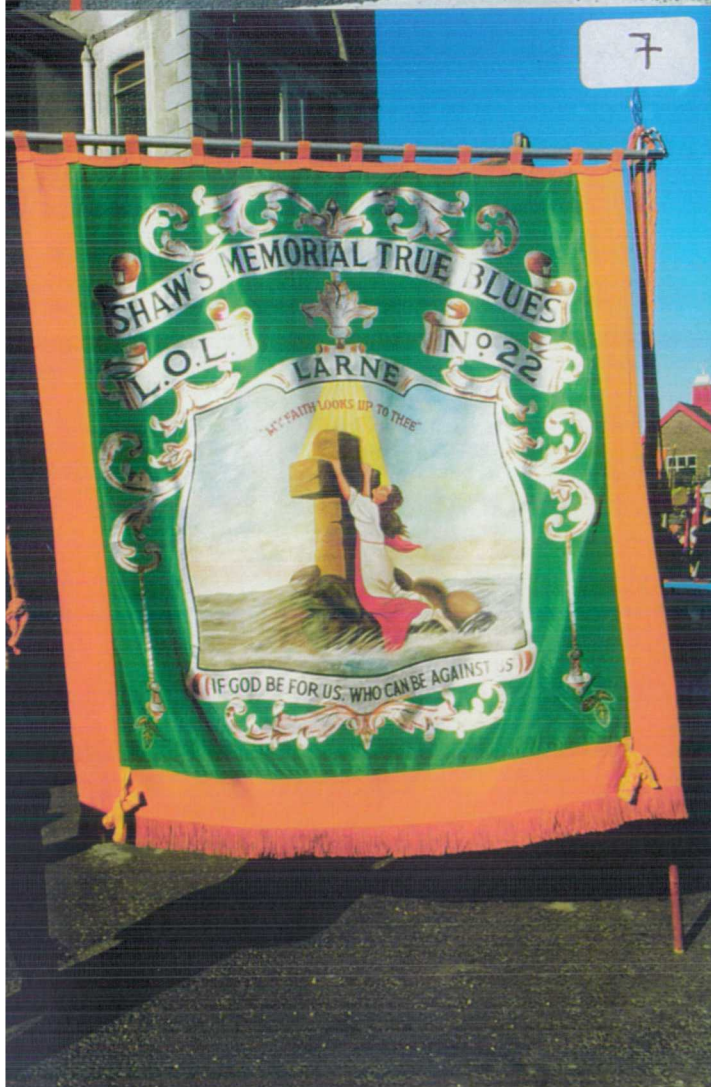




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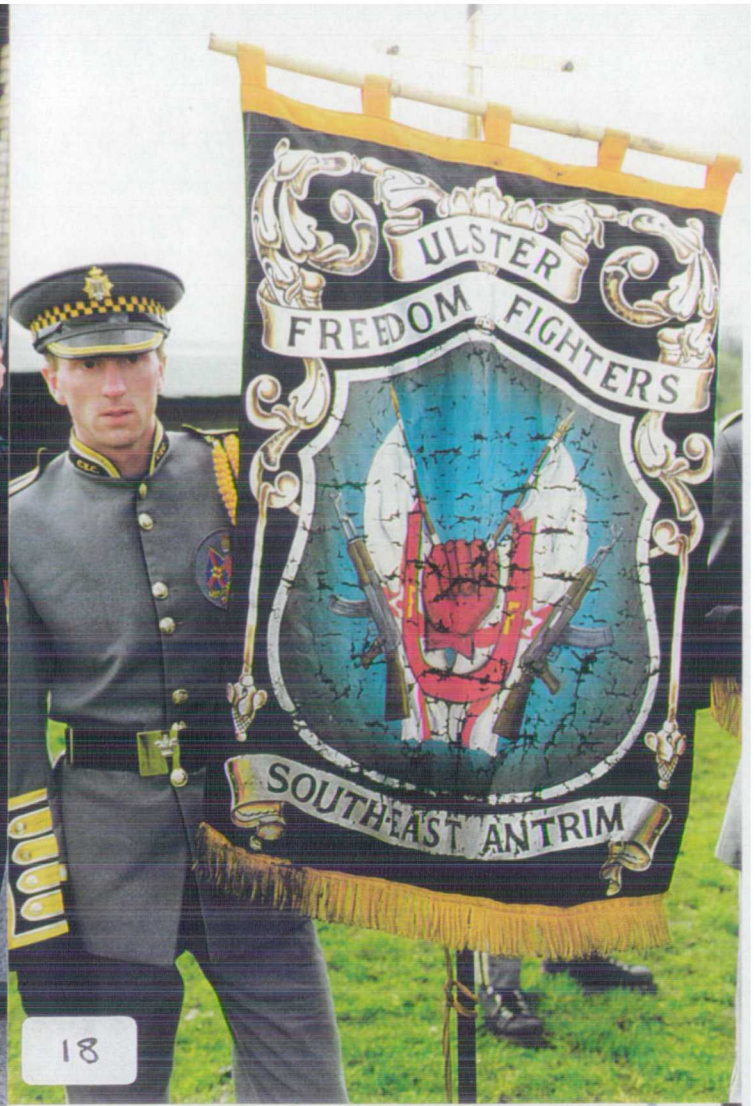
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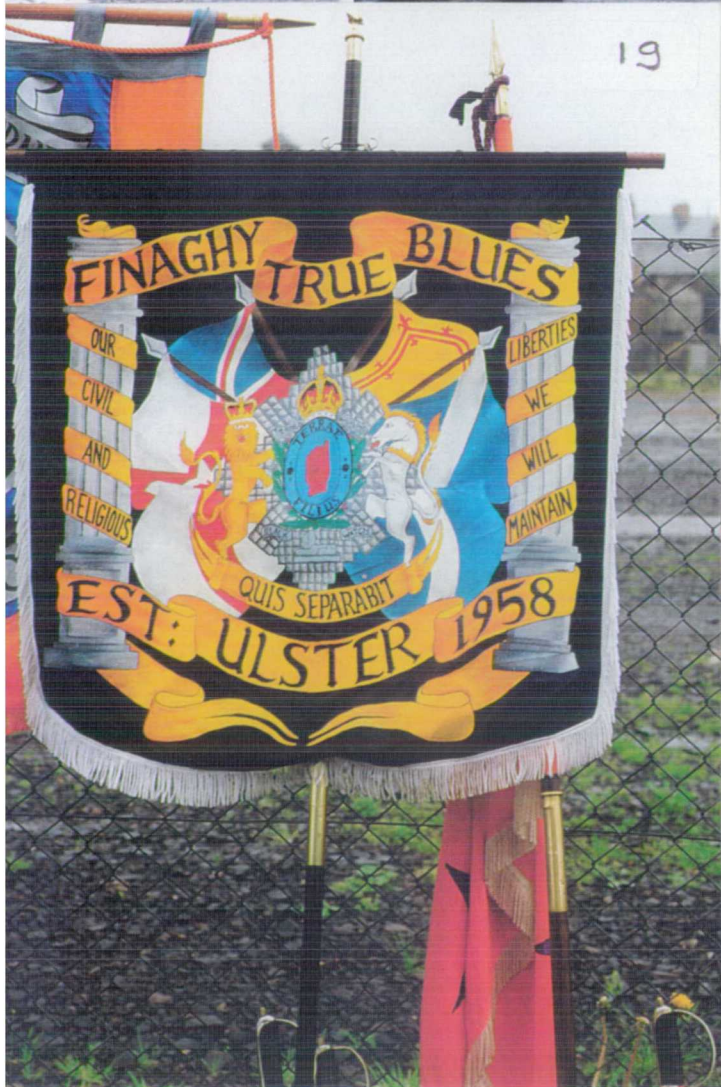
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PART THREE, CHAPTER 10.
NATIONALIST BANNERS.

The banners of the loyalist organisations, while focusing on different areas of interest, are essentially linked in their themes, Orange and Black approach Protestant identity from differing but complementary perspectives. The banners of the nationalist organisations display a much wider range of political orientations and approaches even if, ultimately, they all espouse the same aim of a united Ireland. Two of the three groups concerned in this study, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Irish National Foresters, parade with banners of the same format of the unionist groups. The third strand is the Republican movement, of which Sinn Féin is the structured part. Republican parades have been dominated by flags and the banners have taken a much simpler and informal format and were carried by hand rather than suspended from poles. This was more suited to the campaigning nature of their politics, quickly and cheaply produced banners responding to changing political events and used to highlight diverse political campaigns. Republican banners have been largely restricted to slogans and names, rather than more elaborate displays, but the 1995 Hunger Strike commemoration in Belfast saw a number of banners in the traditional format described above. Half a dozen banners commemorated Republican dead with portraits and additional designs. It will be interesting to see if, over the next few years this trend continues and the Republican movement adopts the styles of the other parading bodies.

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS

AOH banners were recorded at a number of parades between 1992-95. A much smaller number of banners are displayed at these events compared with loyalist parades, but they include a diverse range of images (Photos 21-24). The full list is included in Appendix 2. The majority of the banners carry religious images of some kind, with 65% of the images depicting religious personalities or places, the remainder featuring historical events, images related to the AOH or depict the Maid of Erin. One feature of the design of AOH banners which differs from the other parading fraternities is the inclusion of secondary images in the corner of the banners. These are often no more than representations of the symbols of the four provinces of Ireland, which are also carried as flags, but a number of banners use this space to depict important historical personalities. In this way the Hibernian banners display a more diverse message than the equivalent Orange banners, by incorporating and conjoining a wide range of historical figures within a single image.

The single most common portrayal is of St Patrick the patron saint of Ireland, who is credited with bringing Christianity to Ireland in the 5th century (Photo 21). Two key events in his life are depicted. One painting shows him in his ecclesiastical robes holding a shamrock and preaching to a seated group of men in "Celtic" dress, in the background a fire burns on the hillside. This scene illustrates the first Easter after Patrick's arrival in Ireland when he lit a fire on the Hill of Slane to celebrate the Christian festival. This challenged the traditional rights of the Irish High Kings, based at nearby Tara, whose own position was annually reconfirmed by their right and duty to relight the fires which were then distributed throughout the kingdom. In the ensuing dispute between the existing native and emergent rival authority,

Patrick's first native converts were made. This story conflates the pre-Christian Irish celebrations on the eve of Beltane (1 May, the beginning of summer), and Samhain (1 November, the New Year), when bonfires were lit, with the widespread Catholic practice of extinguishing and then relighting all candles and lights in churches at Easter (Frazer 1923 pp121-158, Gailey 1983). This banner image represents St Patrick's action as the usurpation of authority by the Christian Church both through rational discourse and also by adopting native practices into its own ritual calendar. Catholicism represents the conflation of the local and the global, a naturally convergent synthesis of indigenous and foreign rituals (Taylor 1995). The apparently peaceful conversion of the Celts to Christianity contrasts with the conflict generated with the later arrival of other Christians.

 Table 10.1 Main Image on AOH banners. (Total No 30).

St Patrick.....	12
Historical Figures.....	9
Pope.....	7
Maid of Erin.....	6
Penal Mass.....	5
Symbols.....	5
Saints.....	4
Mary.....	4
Local People + Places..	4

The alternative and more popular image portrays Patrick ridding Ireland of snakes by driving them into the sea. A large church in the background and a celtic gravestone symbolises that Christian order and authority is by now firmly established. Other images such as that on the banner of Div 924 which depicts "the Old Cross at Ardboe", with a ruined church in the background, also refers to the long history of Catholicism in Ireland. But as snakes were a symbol of the female Goddess in pre-Christian Ireland, the underlying narrative would seem to be concerned both with

the destruction of pagan authority and the replacement of such practices by Christian rituals. Patrick's actions thereby confirm Ireland as a Christian country, but also as one in which authority is now held by males (Condren 1989). This attitude is further emphasised by the captions that appear with various pictures, one reads "Ireland a Nation", another surrounds Patrick with the slogans "To God and Ireland True", "Faith and Fatherland" (the most prominent slogan of the AOH) and "Faith of our Fathers Living Still". These link the notion of a single and indivisible Irish nation, as opposed to the earlier four kingdoms, with the establishment of the Christian religion and paternal authority. Other religious portraits relate to this idea that the nation was formed through the missionary activity of religious leaders. St Columba (Columcille) was an early Irish saint who established churches in Derry, Kells and Durrow before exiling himself and forming the monastic settlement at Iona in Scotland (Gwynn 1924). Columba, St Patrick and St Brigid are the three most important Irish saints, from the foundation period of Irish Christianity and all three are portrayed in the corner paintings on two banners (Div 405 and 924) while Brigid's cross symbol is used elsewhere (Div 238). (More detailed consideration is given to the importance of Brigid within the nationalist canon below in the section on the Irish National Foresters.) Figures such as Patrick and Columba appear not as exemplars of the nation but as the founders. Ireland IS the native tradition with the addition of Christianity (1).

Besides these founding saints, the most important religious images are of Mary, mother of Jesus, and the present Pope John Paul 2. Mary is depicted as both Queen of Heaven (Div 95) and Queen of Ireland (Div 72). Although she is a relatively minor figure within the AOH religious pantheon she remains probably the most important popular religious icon in Catholic Ireland (Allen 1992, Taylor 1995). There are shrines erected to her throughout Ireland, including

Derry and Belfast. A number of murals also depict the Madonna (see below). Pope John Paul 2 appears on six banners. His popularity seems to derive from the fact that in September 1979 he became the first Pope to visit Ireland. This event is commemorated on the banner of Div 399, and shows the Pope waving from the steps of an airplane, beside him is Cardinal O'Fiaich and behind him, emblazoned on the side of the plane (and dominating the image) is the name "Aer Lingus".

St Patrick and the Pope bracket the entire span of Irish history; they define and confirm the essence of the nation but only implicitly. A more direct representation of Irishness is embodied in the image of the Maid of Erin. The use of a female figure to symbolise the nation or national spirit became widespread in the 18th century. The personae of Britannia and Marianne were adopted at this time (Agulhon 1985, Warner 1985). In Ireland Erin appeared on numerous Volunteer banners at this time (2) and she has remained a popular icon of Irish nationalism ever since. As a symbol of Ireland itself, the female figure appears in various guises (Loftus 1990), but for the AOH, Erin is a passive subjugated figure for whom her menfolk must be prepared to sacrifice themselves. On these banners she wears a white dress and green cloak and, seated on a rock, she rests on a harp, an Irish wolfhound lies at her feet. Her outstretched left arm guides the eye to a church, a round tower and behind that the sun rising over the horizon. Sprigs of shamrock form the border. Collectively this image includes some of the most prominent symbols of Irish national identity. The shamrock has been an Irish emblem since at least the 17th century, and the harp has been used since the 16th century. Henry VII utilised the harp from 1534 and it was incorporated into the royal coat of arms of James I in 1603, where it remains today. It was used on a (green) flag by the Irish leader Owen Roe O'Neill during the rebellion against English rule in 1642 (Hayes-

McCoy 1979). The United Irishmen later adopted the harp mounted by a Phrygian cap (the French revolutionary symbol of liberty) and the motto "It is new strung and shall be heard" as their symbol. Today this emblem is still used by Sinn Fein on the masthead of their paper "An Phoblacht - Republican News". Although the round tower and the wolfhound suggest the ancient past of early Christianity and natural fauna, they are recent additions that were adopted as symbols of Irish national identity during the romantic cultural revival of the 19th century (Sheehy 1980). The Irish wolfhound may well have been all but extinct by the mid 19th century when they were consciously rebred from cross breeds. The roundtower was also brought to prominence by the 19th century fascination for antiquities and it was eventually accepted as evidence for early Christianity in Ireland. The other prominent image on the banner paintings of Erin is the rising sun. A painting of c1838 by George Petrie, one of the period's most prominent antiquarians, of the ruined monastery of Clonmacnoise, depicts the romantic banner landscape almost exactly with the ruined church, round tower and celtic cross in the foreground and the sun rising over the horizon (Sheehy 1980 p21). The rising sun was used on the banner of the First Armagh Volunteers at the end of the eighteenth century, in turn it was adopted in the 1840s by the Repeal Association and used on its membership cards while today it also features in Republican symbolism (Hayes-McCoy 1979 p 92, Sheehy 1980 p28).

This collection of symbols appears on the banners of the Irish National Foresters and has a long history amongst Irish parading bodies (Photo 25). In the late 18th century ascendancy Protestants considered themselves to be Irish more than British or Protestant, and the Volunteer movement was able to accommodate images of King William III, as well as what today would be regarded as nationalist symbols amongst its iconography. By the mid-nineteenth century

allegiances had been more clearly polarised. After the 1798 rebellion and the unification of Britain and Ireland in 1801 this unity of symbols was no longer possible. Erin more clearly became a Catholic Irish symbol. At a demonstration in support of the Catholic Repeal Association in Dublin in 1843 the banner of the Sawyers Union portrayed Hibernia with a harp and a wolfhound at her feet while at Carrick on Suir in 1848 a Repeal Association flag showed Hibernia with a wolfhound, a harp and a roundtower and the slogan "Erin go Bragh" (Ireland for ever) (Hayes-McCoy 1979 pp131-138). The few surviving banners of the nationalist groups agitating for land reform in the 1880s bear images almost indistinguishable from contemporary ones. The Cullen, Co.Tipperary branch of the Land League, the Kilmaley, Co.Clare branch of the Irish National League, the Hebburn upon Tyne Irish Club, the Michael Dwyer Club of Belfast and banner of an anonymous nationalist group from Kiltubride, Co.Antrim all carry images of Hibernia/Erin with wolfhound, roundtower, harp and shamrocks.

Although this image appears as a coherent whole, it has clearly been built up over time, with symbols from different periods added to the original figure of Hibernia. The finished version is a product of the reformist and romantic movements of the late 19th century, a symbolic jigsaw to give form to the emerging imagined national community of Ireland. As a composite image, the painting depicts an idealised past when the indigenous culture and religion flourished free from outside interference. The rising sun offers hope and expectation for the future freed from the constraints of the present. Sheehy (1980 p69) summarises the aspirations of the wider nineteenth century cultural revival which, for Catholics at least, offered the hope of

a return to a hazily perceived period when Ireland was free, Catholic (Protestantism was, after all, an English import) and an international focus for saints and scholars.

It is these ideas which are still projected through the images on the AOH banners. There are no references to plurality of faith, and Protestantism offers nothing to the symbolic content of the nation. Ireland is seen as a rural landscape whose people are exemplified by a comely maiden. But this feminised Erin/Ireland is portrayed as passive and acquiescent and as such she is in stark contrast to the pike carrying Erin of the Volunteers. The passive, dejected, defeated figure is a representation of an Erin that was produced by the Williamite wars and the Protestant Ascendancy (Loftus 1990 p52). Weaponless, the seated Erin can only point to the rising sun, the future time when the Catholic Church or its agent will enable her to become a "Nation once Again". Meanwhile she must sit and wait, maintaining the "Faith of her Fathers" while relying on her "Illustrious Sons" to take the appropriate action. From this perspective Erin can be identified with Mary, mother of Jesus, who grieves over her dead son but is powerless to act on her own. She can only be a vehicle for God's will. This image is frequently underscored with the lines

And then I prayed I yet might see
our fetters rent in twain
and Ireland, long a province, be
A NATION ONCE AGAIN

Although the implication is that it will only be through the help of prayer and divine intervention that Ireland will become a nation, the frequent references to her "Illustrious Sons" elsewhere on the banners suggests that there is still a legitimate role for action, if it is taken to speed up this process. The verse was composed by Thomas Davis, a Protestant, who wrote for "The Nation", the paper of the Young Ireland movement which worked with Daniel O'Connell in the 1840's in the campaigns for repeal of the unified governments of Britain and Ireland (Kee 1972). One banner (Div 378) focuses on this period of history, and challenges the resignation of an expectation of religious salvation to Ireland's problems. Erin stands with a broken

chain hanging from her wrist and accepts a paper marked "Catholic Emancipation" from Daniel O'Connell. This does not directly concern a separatist national struggle, and O'Connell was an advocate of non-violent reform to British rule, but the picture is surrounded by portraits of Padraig Pearse, James Connolly, Tom Clarke and Thomas MacDonagh, signatories to the proclamation of Independence in 1916, and it also includes a portrait of Thomas Emmett, one of the intellectuals within the United Irishmen movement, who was fortunate to have been arrested before the 1798 Rising began (Pakenham 1972). This is a rather curious collection of "illustrious sons" to bring together on one banner, linking as it does the physical force tradition of Irish nationalism of Pearse and Connolly with the conservative and non-violent approach of O'Connell. The only point of contact is their Catholicism and their desire for an independent Ireland, but linking them with Erin admits to other possible courses of action in the cause of Ireland. The risen Erin accepts O'Connell's gift of Emancipation, while the advocates of more radical tactics remain in the background.

This is the only Hibernian banner to include recent advocates of the physical force tradition. More appropriate to the AOH ideology are the contemporaries of Connolly, portrayed around the painting of St Columcille on the banner of Div 317, Joseph Devlin, John Dillon, TP O'Connor and John Redmond, leading members of the Irish Parliamentary Party who attempted to negotiate for Home Rule in the period following Parnell's death in 1891 to the outbreak of the First World War. Devlin, moreover, was the major influence in revitalising the AOH in this period and making it a force within the nationalist movement (Boyce 1991). The AOH acknowledges the tradition of political violence but largely consigns it to history, and prefers instead to highlight non-violent tactics. However, the banners that feature historical themes serve to emphasise

the legitimacy, in specific circumstances, of the resort to arms.

Many of the historical events which are portrayed on the Hibs banners depict counterbalancing perspectives to the unionist historiography of the Orange banners. A similar mixture of religious persecution and heroic resistance. The most important victim is St Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, who was arrested in 1679 at the height of a Catholic conspiracy scare during the reign of Charles 2nd. He was removed to London, where he was tried and condemned for high treason in 1681. His politically motivated execution has made him a suitable subject as religious martyr (Beckett 1966). He appears on the banner of Div. 175 with a halo and surrounded by adoring members of his flock, including one figure resembling the Madonna with a child. However there is more emphasis on the tradition of heroic resistance. The 1641 rebellion is celebrated through the military leader Rory O'Moore (Photo 22) and the victory of Catholic forces under Owen Roe O'Neill at the battle of Benburb in 1648 on another. These events were not so much an attempt to overthrow English power per se but rather they were defensive actions to maintain the position of Ireland as loyal and Catholic. Protestants remember these years through the massacre at the River Bann and Cromwellian retribution. The Williamite period is commemorated through the figure of Patrick Sarsfield, commander of James' armies who held off William's forces at the siege of Limerick in August 1690 (Photo 23). This successful resistance forced the campaign into another season and nullified the immediate success of the Williamite forces at the Boyne (Simms 1976). Both communities therefore have their heroes and martyrs of the seventeenth century, both claim victories and both honour their heroic dead.

The 1798 United Irishman rebellion is ignored by loyalist iconography, but it provides a common ground for all three strands of the nationalist movement. The AOH, the INF and Sinn Fein all root their contemporary ideology in this event and claim its martyrs as their own. The reverse of the banner depicting Erin and O'Connell portrays the death of Father Michael Murphy one of the few priests prepared to support and encourage the rebels during the United Irishmen rising in Wexford in 1798, and who was killed leading the rebel forces in the battle of Arklow on June 9 1798 (Kee 1989a). Another banner (Div 301) depicts the Battle of Antrim of June 1798 when Henry Joy McCracken's army was overcome by the government forces and which marked the beginning of the end of the rising in Ulster (Pakenham 1972). A final image from this period of Irish history is the portrait of "Bold Robert Emmett, The Darling of Erin" on the banner of Maghera Div 301. Emmett, the brother of Thomas Emmett, attempted a rising in 1803 which "ended in a scuffle in a Dublin street" (Beckett 1969 p285). But despite this ignominious failure, he achieved immortality in Ireland, his memory enhanced by his final speech in court in which he asked that no man should write his epitaph until Ireland was free (Kee 1989a). Emmett became immortalised as another tragic Irishman who sacrificed his life for the ideal of Ireland. His failure remains honoured to this day.

Collectively these banners identify the Catholic faith, and by extension the church itself, as an active agent in the desire for Irish freedom. They offer some support for the argument for armed rebellion or some form of resistance to perceived injustice. Kee (1989b p 271) argues that the Catholic Church

sanctions violent rebellion only when the government is a tyranny, ruling by force against the will of the governed, and the insurrection is approved by the community as a whole.

The Church as an institution has always opposed the successive attempts at armed nationalist risings in Ireland, although it has been more willing to acknowledge the heroism of sacrifice in a noble cause. But the distance of time has permitted many rebels and their actions to be reinterpreted and validated by later generations. The role of individual members of the church as active participants in popular resistance to the law is emphasised on several banners which show a priest leading a mass "in the penal days" (Photo 24). Following the Treaty of Limerick in 1691 a number of Parliamentary Acts were passed constraining the public role of Catholics (and Dissenting Protestants), collectively known as the Penal Code. These laws debarred Catholics from public office, from bearing arms, restricted trade, employment and land purchases and placed disadvantages between interdenominational marriages, although without prohibiting them. While the Catholic religion was not formally banned, all archbishops and bishops were banished from Ireland and the secular clergy who remained had restrictions placed on their movements. The Catholic Church was effectively forced underground and religious services were held in the countryside away from civil and military authorities. The Penal Code had largely been abandoned or repealed by the end of the eighteenth century, although full rights to public political life only followed O'Connell's election to Parliament in 1829 (Beckett 1966, Jackson 1947). The alliance of church and peasantry and the importance of being prepared to suffer for the faith is highlighted by the fact that the poorly clad peasants are taking Mass among snow covered mountains, while in the distance a troop of soldiers approaches. One banner (Div 97) is entitled "A Christmas Mass". This stress on the church's advocacy of passive resistance is brought up to date with a portrait of the former Primate of All Ireland Cardinal Conway (Div 269). A churchman who tried to steer a middle ground in the early years of the Troubles between supporting Catholic protests while opposing both

IRA violence and state actions such as the introduction of Internment (Davis 1989). The Church and its hierarchy is depicted as being clearly on the side of the people and against injustice, while attempting to define an acceptable form that opposition and resistance should take. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland has never been able to consistently hold the line on this issue. While it has attempted to maintain its ethical stance, opposing violence, it has remained conscious of the feelings of the Catholic people, of the justness of the cause that drives people to desperate measures. This has meant that it has condemned the violence of the Easter Rising and of the IRA, but taken the perpetrators back into the body of the church. The church continues to walk a fine line, it opposes violence and yet sanctions it retrospectively.

The dominant theme running through the images is of the importance of religion in forging and maintaining Irish national identity. Catholicism is depicted as the primal force in the creation of that identity; in the scenes of Patrick and Erin there are no signs of human agency on the natural landscape except for the churches. The Church is the agent which brings together the people, their culture (harp) and the natural world (wolfhound, shamrock) to forge them into a specific Catholic Nation. Further, it is the church and its supporters who are portrayed as the prime examples of resistance to English and Protestant domination. Physical resistance is perpetrated either in the name of the Catholic faith or directly by its sons acting within the faith of their fathers. Erin symbolises the passive spirit of the people who need the leadership of the church to mobilise them towards their destiny.

The historical events commemorated by the AOH are remembered as successes for Catholic Ireland against a changing political and religious landscape dominated by England. But at the same time as they are remembered as

heroic victories, they are also abstracted from their wider history which, with regularity, saw the isolated successful resistance ultimately overturned. The victory at Benburb was followed by the arrival of Oliver Cromwell who ruthlessly crushed all further resistance (MacCurtain 1972, Beresford Ellis 1975); Patrick Sarsfield himself was forced to capitulate to the Williamite forces at Limerick the following year and subsequently went into exile in the service of the King of France; the Wexford Rebellion, the most successful part of the United Irishmen's rising, was smashed soon after the defeat at Arklow and the battle of Antrim paved way for the suppression of the Ulster Rising.

The emphasis therefore is placed on both the legitimacy of rebellion and the importance of undertaking again and again necessary forms of resistance to those forces that pose a threat to the Catholic Ireland. But they also stress the mediating role of the church and the importance of church authority in defining the validity of the form. This may help to explain the somewhat incongruous inclusion of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising on a banner, since the portraits of Pearse, Connolly, Clarke and McDonagh are not idealised as such, as, for instance Robert Emmett is, by being the main image on the banner. Rather their actions are contextualised by their adjacency to Thomas Emmett and Daniel O'Connell. The United Irishmen and the Repeal Association represent both the earlier tradition of struggle for emancipation in Ireland and also define the failed forms, mass peasant rising and popular civil protest, which give legitimacy to the urban, vanguardist military rising of 1916. Easter 1916 can be justified and understood not simply by the circumstances in Ireland at the time by also by what had passed before. Finally, what links the socialist trade union leader (Connolly), the full time revolutionary (Clarke), the poet and headmaster (Pearse) and the university lecturer (McDonagh) is their Catholicism, and following their surrender and execution

(which generated the support and sympathy for the Rising which the reading of the Proclamation of the Republic had failed to do) their martyrdom and self sacrifice for the cause of Ireland. It is their willingness to risk all for the cause that links Connolly and Pearse with Robert Emmett and in turn with Oliver Plunkett and keeps them as nationalist heroes, when the historical leaders of the AOH cause - Devlin, Dillon and Redmond - are largely forgotten.

IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS

The Maid of Erin featured prominently on the banners of the AOH but she was less important than images of Catholicism. However, she was the dominant and most common image on the banners of the INF at their parade in Lurgan in August 1992. Of the 16 banners on display Erin featured on 13 of them (Photo 25). Erin is still associated with the same symbols, harp, wolfhound and round tower as on the AOH banners, but there are numerous subtle changes of emphasis. In ten of the pictures Erin is standing rather than sitting, in three she is playing the harp rather than merely using it as a support as the AOH Erin does, and in another four cases she is holding a green flag aloft. All these images convey a sense of a more assertive character. The figure is predominantly facing the viewer, frequently she is holding a sprig of shamrock and in only one case is she pointing to the roundtower as she does on the AOH banners. The roundtowers are more prominent and in most cases a Celtic cross features in the foreground, while the rising sun is less prominent. There are no signs of angels or modern churches. The impression conveyed is that Erin is less a figure passively awaiting assistance than one confident in asserting her self proclaimed identity. This invokes a sense of Irishness based on a history of self justified actions, rather than one legitimated by reference to outside forces such as the Catholic church. The green flag is held high. The harp is played and is therefore less

a symbol of a long lost past than an expression of a still living and distinct culture. This living culture is further expressed by the use of the Irish language (Eire go Bragh - Ireland for ever), "celtic" style lettering and interlacing designs around the central image. These differences with the AOH banners are not absolute but rather are expressed in terms of priorities and preferences. The INF banners in general also exhibit a wider range of forms in respect of frames, borders and border designs than those of all the other organisations, although remaining within a distinctive banner making practice, the boundaries are being pushed out to embrace a broader range of styles and historical traditions.

Religious images do appear on the INF banners however. Apart from the pictures of local ruined churches and churchmen, the most interesting images are of Saint Brigid and Saint Moninna. With St Patrick and St Columba, Brigid is the most important of the Irish saints, all three having shrines at the most famous Irish pilgrimage centre at Lough Derg. Condren identifies Brigid as the principal goddess of pagan pre-Christian Ireland, and as such was symbolised by both a serpent and the sun. Her feast day of Imbolc (1st February) marked the first day of spring and the first stirrings of new life. Although the historical St Brigid is attributed with the founding of a monastic settlement at Kildare, very little is actually known of her life, and it is possible that she is no more than the adoption of pagan traditions into the body of early Irish Christian mythology (Condren 1989 Chapter 4). I have already suggested that the images of St Patrick driving out the snakes and lighting the Easter fire symbolise the absorption of pagan beliefs and practices into the new Christian authority; these events specifically relate to the control of the goddess Brigid and, through her, female authority in Ireland. The Christian St Brigid is claimed to have been born at sunrise, claiming the time of the pagan Brigid and again

confirming the replacement of one mythical view of femaleness with a new one. In her turn Brigid as both saint and virgin has been made subordinate to Mary by the Irish church replacing the active female ideal with its opposite. Similarly St Moninna represents the active and independent women in the growth of the early church, she too is accredited with the founding of numerous religious houses in England, Scotland and Ireland, but ultimately suffered from the power struggles in the male dominated hierarchy (Condren 1989 pp101-2). That these two female saints should be represented on INF banners fits with the more assertive femaleness of the Erin figure. The AOH on the other hand prefers to stress the role of male figures like Patrick and Columba and relegates any reference to Brigid to depictions of the rising sun. The INF ideology supports a more active expression of Irish identity, one less constrained by the Roman Catholic church but rather one more responsive to local traditions. If the AOH banners acknowledged the quandary of the church in both opposing and understanding political violence, then the INF banners are less equivocal, and Irish nationhood will only be achieved through an active assertion of Irish identity.

The remainder of the INF banners depict a wide range of historical figures, each of whom is portrayed on only a single banner. Each one can be held as an example of some form of assertion of Irish identity. Red Hugh O'Donnell was an ally of Hugh O'Neill in the rebellion against English Tudor rule in the 1590's. Following the military victory at Yellow Ford in 1598 the local rebellion grew to become a national one. But the Irish forces were eventually defeated at Kinsale in 1601, and O'Donnell retired to exile in Spain. O'Neill's voluntary exile shortly afterwards in 1607 is commemorated as the "Flight of the Earls" and marked the end of the power of the great Irish clans and the beginnings of the establishment of English rule in Ulster (Beckett 1966 .

Sarsfield also appears on one banner in an abstract heroic pose similar to those of King William on the Orange banners, but the majority of the personalities commemorated are from the late 1790's onwards. Henry Joy McCracken (Photo 26) and William Orr were both members of the United Irishmen. Orr was executed in April 1796 for administering the UI oath to two soldiers, as a result he became the organisations first martyr. McCracken was himself executed in 1798 after leading the unsuccessful Antrim rising (Elliot 1982). Father Theobald Mathew was a successful temperance campaigner especially in the south and west of Ireland in the 1830's and 40's (Malcolm 1986). John Mitchel (Photo 27) was a radical propagandist who wrote for The Nation just prior to and after the rupture with O'Connell and who was tried on the charge of treason-felony and exiled in May 1848 immediately before the Smith O'Brien rising of that year (Kee 1989a). Sir Charles Russell defended the nationalist leader Charles Stewart Parnell against charges that he was implicated in the Phoenix Park murders while Thomas Sexton was elected as MP for West Belfast in 1880 as part of the Home Rule landslide. He was Parnell's lieutenant for many years before they fell out (Lyons 1977). Finally, Roger Casement who organised a supply of guns from Germany and Padraig Pearce (Photo 28) who led the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic in the failed 1916 Easter Rising are both commemorated. Both men were subsequently executed by the British Government. All these men are depicted in simple portraits with just their names underneath, the only slogans used on any banners are "We give help in times of need" and "Unity, Nationality and Benevolence", these mottos are in turn illustrated by pictures of uniformed Foresters visiting sick members, a common image on the banners of many Friendly Societies and Trade Unions in Britain at the end of the last century (Gorman 1986).

These banners commemorate some of the most important characters and events in 19th century Irish history, while significantly avoiding O'Connell's activities in this period and with acknowledgement to the heroes of earlier times the banners concentrate on those personalities and resistances to British rule in Ireland that were couched in terms of nationality rather than being expressed as religious differences. Even the portrayal of a priest commemorates one who was known for his work as a temperance campaigner, an ideal that was widespread in the 19th century and today is still acknowledged in the names and banners of many Orange lodges.

One important point to be made about the personalities featured is that Orr, McCracken, Mitchel, Parnell and Casement were all Protestants (Roger Casement converted to Catholicism while he was in prison following the Rising, and received his first and last Communion on the day of his execution [Kee 1989c]). The Catholic Church is not invoked here to legitimise action, but instead the broader ideal of national unity, encompassing Presbyterian, Church of Ireland and Roman Catholic faiths is the aim. The contemporary polarisation in which political ideals are ascribed by religious faith and the Protestant "inevitable and natural" self-identification as British rather than Irish was not self evident through the eighteenth century, but emerged in the course of the nineteenth century, at time of rapidly changing political and economic circumstances (Gibbon 1975, Walker 1992). The fusion of the politico-religious identities Catholic-Nationalist and Protestant-Unionist has never been completed and, in particular the tradition of radical Protestants who have maintained an Irish identity is well documented (Campbell 1991, Elliott 1985). The widely used symbols of the Irish nation: the harp, the wolfhound, the round tower and the Celtic Cross all allude to a sense of national identity that has continued, in spite of the British, from the long

distant past, but these symbols were in fact only brought together as such in the 19th century within the context of the wide ranging populist emancipation movement and the often apolitical cultural revival movement (Sheehy 1980). As noted above, Hibernia/Erin and the harp were non-sectarian national symbols immediately prior to the United Irishmen rising in 1798, and it was not until the nineteenth century that they were redefined as icons of a Catholic and Gaelic identity. Even at the time of partition, a Protestant notable such as Sir John Barr Johnston, former Mayor of Londonderry, was able to have a miniature round tower erected as his grave stone in the Londonderry City Cemetery.

The United Irishmen movement was the first to adopt the ideals of nationality, made prominent by the French Revolution, as its aims, but the history of Irish rebellion throughout the following century was one which involved a constant struggle to raise this proud ideal above the more practical aspirations such as land rights, which were the real issues capable of motivating the mass of the impoverished peasantry. Nevertheless, it is the propagandists of the ideals of nationhood who are celebrated and commemorated, from Orr and McCracken onwards to the activities of the Foresters themselves, the INF banners uphold the ideals of "Unity, Nationality and Benevolence" as the way forward for Ireland.

The AOH and the INF have a small membership compared with that of comparable loyalist organisations, and they are less well known bodies than Sinn Fein and the Republican movement. Nevertheless they remain an important facet of the parading tradition and their displays constitute an important part of nationalist ideology. In the period between the end of World War Two and the beginning of the

Troubles, the AOH and the INF were important in maintaining a public presence for the nationalist tradition but since 1968 constitutional nationalist supporters have largely abandoned the streets as Sinn Fein and the IRA have become the dominant public force within the nationalist movement. Republican parades and paintings have been the most visible displays of nationalism within the media but their militant ideology represents only a fraction of nationalist supporters. In recent years Sinn Fein has attracted some 35% of the nationalist vote, while the constitutional nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) attracts the other 65%. The SDLP do not participate in street politics and their support is therefore largely invisible except at election time. While the AOH and the INF are in no way connected to the SDLP, the conservative, Catholic, constitutionalist ideologies that are displayed on their banners probably represents the ideals of a broader nationalist movement beyond the membership of these organisations.

While advocating a religious and/or constitutionalist approach to contemporary politics, Irish nationalism can still celebrate the heroes of the long dead past and can continue to express a desire for a united Ireland while claiming to reject the tactics of the IRA. The visual displays of the AOH and INF commemorate many features of the broader traditions of nationalism that have been largely overwhelmed and obscured by the resurgence of the Republican movement in the past twenty five years. However, the continued celebration of the heroes of 1798 and 1916, and by extension their tactics, ultimately makes it difficult to reject out of hand the contemporary violence of the IRA. The distinction between acknowledging the legitimate violence of the "heroes of 1798" or the Easter Rising and that of the present day IRA becomes a fine one, just as the distinction between the historical and contemporary Protestant tradition of forming paramilitary

groups for defence is a fine one. If the past is readily understood by reference to hindsight then the present can also be understood by reference to the past. The lessons of the past continue to be propagated through the medium of highly decorated banners carried at public parades. The ideology of the AOH and INF remains grounded in the same historical roots as the Republican movement. The images give support to the historical traditions of rebellion, of persecution and of the valorisation of secular saints who have offered their lives to the cause of Ireland. Ironically Protestant/Unionists and Catholic/Nationalists celebrate and commemorate many of the same events, or at least the same years. 1641, 1688-91, 1916 remain important historical dates for both communities. Even if the mirror is viewed from two different and mutually exclusive perspectives, the effect, to legitimise and re-affirm the importance of the gun in Irish political life is the same on both sides. The banner displays by supporters of both orange and green obscure much of the more obvious support for the gun within the commemoration of a heroic and glorious past. Freed from the constraints of a formal tradition, and the need to be accountable to a wider constituency, the displays of support for the various paramilitary groups have no such coyness; they explicitly valorise the power and success of the gun. These images rarely appear on public parade however, but in the past decade they have become highly visible on the walls of the working class areas of Belfast and Derry. It is to the mural painting tradition that I now turn.

PART FOUR, CHAPTER 11.
MURALS, an Introduction.

The tradition of painting murals on gable walls in working class areas dates from just before the First World War. Until the 1980s the practice was the preserve of the Unionist community but the 1981 Republican hunger strikes inspired a dramatic outpouring of slogans and images on the walls of the nationalist areas of Belfast. This marked a new beginning in respect of the quantity of paintings being produced, and the range of subjects depicted. Republican mural painting drew on designs and styles grounded in both Catholic and Celtic imagery which were used to elaborate and visualise slogans graffitied on the walls. The appearance of republican murals in turn led to a resurgence of loyalist paintings, based both on longstanding communal traditions and new themes and practices generated within the Troubles. Contemporary loyalist murals have moved away from the traditional subject matter to constitute a distinct discourse that differs with, and, sometimes conflicts with mainstream Unionist positions. The two bodies of mural works have developed in parallel over the past decade or so and depict many similar themes and images, but the two communities are not engaged in a debate with each other via the murals, rather it is the shared socio-political environment that has helped to generate the similarities. The murals are a part of two largely separate internal discourses.

The Belfast murals are probably the oldest continuing body of this form of political statement, only the work of the

Mexican muralists whose work emerged slightly later in the revolutionary 1920's is comparable in time scale. But there are distinct differences between the two traditions. The Mexican muralists were trained artists and the works of Rivera, Orozco, Siquieros and others are regarded primarily as works of Art. Their images were painted as "part of the cultural programme of the revolution", often on state buildings, and the work was funded by the state, and preserved as an essential part of the artist and cultural heritage (Rodriguez 1969 p.158). Elsewhere, in Chile and Nicaragua, trained artists have also been organised to paint murals to propagandise in support of radical governments (Millon & Nochlin 1978, La Duke 1984). In both of these countries the aim was to create "iconic images of national unity and international solidarity" (Baddeley & Fraser 1989 p.88-89). One finds this as well in Mozambique, where spontaneous expressions of victory over Portuguese colonialism were soon transformed into government sponsored "educational" murals (Sachs 1983). Murals which have appeared recently in Sierra Leone were sponsored by the military government in an attempt to bolster a position besieged by rebel forces (Guardian 4-3-95). The Northern Irish murals are distinct from these state supported or sponsored schemes. They have never had official support nor been regarded as works of art, they have always been acknowledged as a transient part of the political and commemorative process. One mural in the Fountain area of Derry which was first painted in the inter-war period, was preserved and moved during redevelopment of the estate, but it is at present in a sorry state of repair (1).

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, a state sponsored community murals programme was run using art students, at a time when mural painting was seen as a declining "folk art" in Ulster (Johnston 1970). The aim was to brighten up the decaying inner city area with cheerful apolitical images and Disneyesque cartoon figures (Watson 1983). As

such it was part of a new body of practice which includes the many murals still existing in London but also widespread in the U.S.A. and elsewhere (Simpson 1980, Watson 1983). But like the state sponsored murals in London, the Ulster community murals programme largely stopped when the cash stopped, and the murals decayed and disappeared at a time when the grass roots murals began to flourish. A few faded examples still survive and occasionally new non-political murals can be seen. But in Ulster murals are not about Art or brightening up decaying streets they are predominately political statements, part of the broader politics of resistance used by working class people on both sides of the sectarian divide to counter the dominant state and class ideologies. As such they are a means in which individuals and groups who are either excluded from, or without access to, the contemporary mass media, use the most accessible space to display their versions of meaningful history and express their cultural identity (2).

LOCATION

Most murals are to be found in the working class estates of Belfast and Derry: the areas which have been most affected by the recent violence and most polarised by the sectarian divisions (3). South Belfast, with the University, is a predominately middle class residential area, and there is little sign of violence in these areas and no display of party colours. East Belfast is overwhelmingly Protestant with only a small Catholic enclave in the Short Strand area, and murals are found among the Victorian terraces and redeveloped estates, near to the shipyards. North and West Belfast, where the majority of the murals are found, is a complicated patchwork of communities each with distinct identities and allegiances. From Tiger's Bay in the north to Suffolk in the south many districts are divided from their neighbours by a series of "Peace Lines", permanent

walls topped with wire fencing, up to 6 metres high, which mark the boundaries of the most violent sectarian interfaces (Quinn 1994). Within this residential pattern, the layout of the sectarian geography of the city is well known; areas and streets are classified as Protestant or Catholic, loyalist or nationalist. Murals rarely function as boundary markers because the boundaries are already well known. Instead the boundary areas are marked by much more simple and clear definitions of allegiance: the flying of flags and red-white-blue or orange-white-green painting on kerb-stones and lamp-posts.

The impetus for much of the painting are the commemorative parades of the summer marching season. The loyalist areas are decorated with red, white and blue bunting suspended across the streets, Union Jacks, Scottish and Ulster flags flown from permanently fixed flag holders on houses and shops and kerb-stones and lamp-posts painted red, white and blue and, more rarely these days, Orange arches are erected. In nationalist areas the displays of colour are more muted and are often confined to flying the Irish tricolour, although lamp-posts and curbstones are painted green, white and orange and bunting hung out in some areas. As such the displays are part of a celebration of a unified community. The flags and bunting appear only for the "marching season" and encode a restricted range of largely uncontested meanings, but the murals are on display more permanently and may be visible for years. They permit more elaborate ideas to be expressed, ideas that increasingly challenge or refocus the traditional values of the community and re-present them as revalued by the experiences of the Troubles.

The coded colours of lamp-posts and kerb-stones often mark the entry into a distinct territory (and in rural areas may display an allegiance through the length of a village), but murals tend to be hidden away in back streets; they are

rarely painted as provocational statements and in fact rarely make any obvious reference to the other community or any sense of conflict. In part this restraint may be to avoid the dangers of painting political statements in areas where one might be exposed to either the security forces or one's political enemies, but it also exerts a degree of control over the image and its meaning. It targets the image at the people who will more readily understand the nuances and allusions. Just as the marching orders control access to their images through restricted temporal display, so access to the murals is of a restricted spatial nature. The messages on the murals are not intended to convert the unbelievers.

Gable walls at the end of terraces have traditionally provided the largest and most prominent site on which to paint murals but with extensive redevelopment throughout the city murals are nowadays painted on a wide variety of walls. Sometimes images are painted on board which allows elaborate details to be included and enables the paintings to be replaced more readily or to be protected from bad weather. The gable ends offer a large space to create an image, but this does not mean that all available space will be utilised. Although many murals are two storeys high, this involves more work and more equipment - at least a ladder and sometimes scaffolding - many are therefore painted only to a height accessible to a pavement level painter or use only a proportion of the wall area. The smallest of all the murals, a shamrock symbol of the Young Citizens Volunteers at Redcliffe Parade in East Belfast, is less than a metre square and barely merits the term mural, yet it exhibits a formalism equivalent to the larger heraldic type murals and is clearly of a different scale to simple graffiti.

Theoretically the permission of the owner of the building must be obtained before painting begins, but with much of

the working class housing rented from the Housing Executive, this is not possible as the Executive do not allow wall paintings on their properties. However it is also said that they will not remove murals as they would graffiti, primarily because of the association between murals and paramilitary groups, and so their houses are often used. A controversy was generated at Easter 1993 after a letter to the Belfast Telegraph complained about a UDA mural on the Newtownards Road that had been painted, without permission, by "three or four youths", over a period of several days some months earlier. Although residents advocated that action should be taken to have the painting removed, the RUC were unwilling to do anything and the Housing Executive would not send workers in because of the involvement of the paramilitaries (Belfast Telegraph 6.4.93; 13.4.93; Ulster Newsletter 14.4.93). Not only are the original murals still on the walls (August 1995) but there are now four houses painted and the images have become widely reproduced in print.

Muralists may wait until approached to paint a mural, but sometimes permission is actively sought to paint specific walls. In East Belfast the U.D.A. had a mural painted on the wall of their headquarters off the Newtownards Road and then decided to have others painted in the area. Permission was actively sought from the owner of a local shop, whose gable wall was in an extremely visible location, to be allowed to paint a memorial mural to the members of the East Belfast UDA who had died during the Troubles. The owner agreed but on condition that painting was restricted to a relatively small area of the possible space. Other murals have followed as requests were made and sites offered and the main rival of the UDA, the UVF also began to paint their murals. The subjects of the murals apparently reflect the loyalties or strengths of paramilitary support in each particular street in this area.

Many murals were inspired by, if not directly sponsored by, the paramilitary forces but they are also seen as a positive expression of the local community. Murals are something to be proud of and looked after, they are often kept clear of graffiti and damage and cleaned up or repainted if necessary. Sometimes this repainting was done by another mural painter but at other times it was the householder. The paintings were seen as brightening the place up, but unlike the sponsored community mural programme they were more than just a cosmetic face lift. But as noted with the mural on the Newtownards Road not everybody welcomed the paintings, some fearing that they might attract sectarian vandalism, others simply opposing the sentiments. An article in an Orange Order booklet, while recognising that both loyalists and republicans use murals to "tell stories of their heroes...and create their folklore" nevertheless criticised some paintings as amateurish, and others because they were painted by "hooligans to be provocative to the "other" section of the community" (Orange Order 1990).

THE PAINTERS

Unlike the community mural project of the 1970s and political murals elsewhere, these are not the work of trained artists, nor is the current florescence the product of the skilled paint craftsmen who painted the murals in earlier periods, for whom it was an extension of their existing skills (Loftus 1990). Nowadays murals are the works of untrained, often unemployed men, and youths (there are only a few murals that have been done by women) who are prepared to "have a go". Lyttle (nd) records that a number of the murals in the Mersey Street area were painted by two schoolboys. Usually the painting is done by people living in the area rather than by outsiders, although there are exceptions. Murals may even be collective efforts with a more skilled designer setting out the main outline in

chalks with friends helping by filling in the colours. The muralists I have met largely confirmed this argument. Because the paintings are anonymous, in many cases are years old, because they are painted in quite a short time and because the painters often aim to attract as little attention as possible when painting, it is quite a haphazard process trying to meet mural painters.

One Sandy Row painter claimed that the King Billy mural he was painting was his first attempt, although he had "tidied up" the Rockland Street painting (Photo 29) the previous week. He claimed no previous artistic experience and based his design on a small photograph which he carried. The impetus for the mural was the Twelfth of July parade and he worked steadily for several days to finish it on time. However, he returned to add some more detail and improve the framing columns, in the week leading up to the march to mark the Tercentenary of the Boyne in September 1990. This painter finished in time for the parade but murals that are not finished by their appointed deadline may well be abandoned. Two years later the outline of a UDA emblem had been sketched out next to the King Billy, but no paint had been added, and on the opposite side of Sandy Row another UDA mural lay unfinished between 1990 and 1994 before the site was claimed for a new design, as the loyalist ceasefire was announced.

Billy, a UDA muralist, began with the large emblems outside the U.D.A. offices off the Newtownards Road and, because he was unconfident of his abilities in painting figures, he preferred instead to concentrate on heraldic or geometric forms which he could set out with chalk, a straight edge and a string compass (Bill Rolston recalled asking a painter why he always painted his paramilitaries with hoods on and was told "I can't paint faces"). He was responsible for several of the other UDA murals, all in a similar style, and aware of his own artistic limitations, stressed

the importance of a sound technical setting out of the image to make best use of a wall whilst avoiding windows, drain pipes and ventilation ducts etc.

More recent (1995) encounters with loyalist mural painters suggests some changes developing in their practice. The man who painted the Cuchulain series in East Belfast was asked to paint them because of his known artistic skills. He has subsequently established himself as a sign writer. A commemorative mural in the Shankill was also "commissioned" from a man who painted landscapes and portraits professionally. In this case an extensive array of gloss paints and scaffolding were provided for the work.

Gerard Kelly lives in Ballymurphy in West Belfast and has painted many murals in and around his home area, as well as elsewhere in Belfast and Armagh. He began painting while in Long Kesh prison, attracted initially to the images of Celtic mythology painted by Jim FitzPatrick. On release, he painted a mural for Gerry Adams' 1987 election campaign and has continued ever since. Some of his paintings are copied from FitzPatrick's work, but many are original designs and more overtly political in subject. His murals have ranged from commemorations of the IRA volunteers killed at Gibraltar and Loughgall (Photo 36), the Irish mythical hero Cuchulainn (Photo 38), to Nelson Mandela and American Indian Movement activists (Rolston 1992). In 1993 he painted a mural in Ballymurphy commemorating Irish-Mexican solidarity, which he hoped would be the first in a series of paintings in the area highlighting little known or forgotten aspects of Irish Republican history. Kelly is not paid for his painting, asking only for the costs of the paint and other materials to be covered. He also likes to complete the mural with a coat of varnish which both extends the life of the painting and enables paint bomb damage to be removed more easily. Like the other painters, Gerard's painting attracted a lot of attention from local

people, many of whom stood and watched for a few minutes asked questions and offered words of encouragement. Other painters of republican murals are more closely connected with Sinn Fein and paint images to order. In particular, following the 1994 ceasefire, a broader range of street images were produced. Many of these were multiple copies of a design done on boards and distributed widely. In these cases overhead projectors were used to enlarge an original design and allow its multiple reproduction.

Having finished work, the painter relinquishes control of the mural and it becomes the property or responsibility of the householder or of the organisation who had commissioned it. It may be added to or changed as required. In this sense, a mural need never be regarded as complete or finished. There is no sanctity surrounding the painter's relationship to the work or the form of the image. Some are altered in repainting or are added to over time: much of the detail on Gerard Kelly's Loughgall commemoration mural was simplified each time it was repainted after a paint bomb attack, while one of the UVF murals on Mersey Street is a composite of three paintings done at different times. The clearest example is the Rockland Street site, originally painted in the 1930s and probably the oldest continuously painted site in Belfast. Loftus (1990) reproduces photographs of it from the 1960s 1975, 1979, 1985 and 1990 in which in each case a mounted King Billy is depicted but each in a completely different style. In the 1980s, the site was also partly used to paint a Red Hand Commando mural which has also been subject to repainting. Some murals are clearly valued and repainted if damaged or worn, but both loyalist and republican murals are frequently painted over and the site re-used. Sometimes if the painting has been damaged or if it related to a specific political campaign, it will painted out and the wall left bare; on other occasions the image will be replaced with a more up to date image, a wall at Beechmount

Avenue and a number of houses on the Whiterock Road have had numerous different images over the years (see Rolston 1991 and below).

Republican murals are often closely linked to specific campaign issues and the change of designs is connected more closely to the political climate. Loyalist murals that are concerned with the meaning of traditional values are usually repainted to recreate the original design or subject. Rockland Street, for instance, is and always will be a King Billy mural. The painter may change and the style may vary but the image will remain of King Billy on his white horse. If they are painted for a particular public event or anniversary some murals do not get finished (weather, other work etc) these are usually allowed to fade away rather than being painted out. All these factors necessarily affects the length of life of any one mural. It is difficult to date or age many of them, unless they have been painted for a specific event or anniversary. Few of them last for more than a few years and sometimes they survive only days or weeks in pristine condition. Rockland Street is an obvious exception but even here it is the site that has lasted and not a specific image.

Several sites are close to areas used for the bonfires on the 11th July and murals may be damaged by the heat; some of the murals in Percy Place were partially destroyed in this manner and it was some time before they were repaired. Others are targeted for paint bomb attacks. Murals are not a regular target for sectarian aggression, possibly because of their siting within the heart of territories rather than on boundaries, but some close to a boundary zone in the Village area had, I was told, been defaced by "fenians". A number of UDA murals in parts of Belfast have been damaged by other loyalists with UVF scrawled across them. The Republican murals have suffered much more from this sort of damage, and it is often the British Army or R.U.C. who have

been recorded throwing paint filled bags and bottles at newly painted murals. Others are more systematically damaged with faces being painted out or new slogans added. Sometimes the paint is quickly removed, while on other occasions it is left as a reminder until the site is reused.

PART FOUR, CHAPTER 12.
LOYALIST MURALS.

Murals first appeared in the Protestant areas of Belfast just before the First World War, when they were part of the commemorative display of the Twelfth of July. Most early paintings were of King William on his white horse. After the war numerous memorials to the Somme dead also appeared, as this event was incorporated into the Orange commemorative calendar. This period was one of uncertainty for the Ulster Protestants as they opposed the proposals for Home Rule and eventually won the concession of partition and self government at Stormont. Murals were used to emphasise the essential Britishness of the unionist people and symbols of the British state, and flags and monarchs appeared widely on the walls. By the 1960s, although other aspects of the Twelfth displays seemed to be thriving, murals were few and far between. The Belfast Newsletter reported in 1963 that the tradition was "slowly dying", there was only one painting in good condition in the city with a few others "so faded that only the poorest outline was visible" (BNL 9-7-1963).

The beginning of the Troubles and the escalating violence in the 1970s overturned many of the certainties of traditional unionist thinking, and fragmented the public political unity. "Traditional" mural images continued to decline and painters turned increasingly to a range of symbols, predominately flags and emblems, with the Red Hand of Ulster and the Ulster flag prominent, as the first indications of a redefined and refocused identity. Rolston

(1991) asserts that this was a period of confusion and uncertainty for loyalists which posed the question "to whom are we loyal?". Although loyalist paramilitary groups were active throughout this period, they were not widely represented on the murals, which continued to favour traditional emblems and devices.

The appearance of republican murals after 1981 seems to have stimulated loyalist painters, and from about 1984 paramilitary figures and symbols came to dominate their murals. The Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985 was a further encouragement to public protest and visual displays which stressed Ulster's British identity. But the emblems, flags and heraldic devices of the paramilitary groups have become more elaborate and masked gunmen have appeared on the walls with greater frequency, and increasingly Ulster has been defined in its own terms, independent of external authority (Photos 31-34; 43-46). Within this shift of symbolism the relationship with Great Britain has become more uncertain and ambiguous but with little support for the more radical suggestion of an Independent Ulster. This latest period marks a transition from murals espousing a Unionist i.e. a British orientated ideology, to a Loyalist position, in which Ulster appears as the principal focus of identity.

Paramilitary images may have come to dominate the murals of loyalist Belfast, but the practice remains embedded within the wider unionist commemorative calendar. The anniversaries of the Boyne and the Somme remain the events that encourage painters, even if the traditional meanings and assumptions are no longer duplicated on the walls. Furthermore the paramilitary groups also use murals to extend the commemorative process by including their own dead within the displays.

While acknowledging the historical developments I want to focus on the contemporary mural displays and look at some

of the changes which have appeared in recent years. I begin by looking at the semiotics of the paramilitary iconography, to consider how these groups use both new and established symbols to situate themselves within the wider Ulster unionist tradition and to legitimise themselves in the political arena. As part of this process the murals must be viewed as images in space as well as in time, that is within the context of the wider body of paintings. This involves looking at how the location and juxtaposition of images can affect their meaning. Roland Barthes (1977) refers to this as the process of "relay", which encourages the reader to consider images not as self-contained statements, but rather within the wider context of adjacent and interacting images. This is particularly important in the way in which traditional images such as King Billy are now juxtaposed to paramilitary gunmen. The images on the Orange banners continue to ignore the existence of both the Troubles and the paramilitary groups, while the mural paintings are used to force a confrontation between traditional meanings and contemporary values.

This focus of analysis can be extended to explore variations in the subject matter of murals in different areas of the city. Although murals are confined to working class areas, they do not appear in all of these areas, and a close geographical analysis will suggest that distinctive patterns of allegiances are displayed on the walls. While on one level murals are used to develop a working class critique of the traditional middle class dominance of the unionist legacy, these differences also express competitive territorial antagonisms within the loyalist working class. Both levels confirm the murals as part of an internal unionist discourse, rather than aimed at the republican enemy.

This part of the study is based on over 100 murals photographed in Belfast between 1990 and 1994 (1). For

analysis I have divided Belfast into the four main geographical groupings which coincide with the division of the city by the Orange parades. South Belfast includes murals around Sandy Row, The Village and Donegall Pass; West Belfast includes the Shankill Road, Woodvale and Crumlin Road; in North Belfast murals can be found in Skegoneill and Tigers Bay; in East Belfast there are numerous murals in the streets adjacent to the Newtownards Road. Isolated examples can be found in Rathfern, on the northern extreme of the city, in Ballysillan in the north-west, Taughmonagh to the south and in Ballybean, Sydenham and Tullycarnet in the east.

PARAMILITARY ICONOGRAPHY

Although King Billy is no longer the dominant image on the walls that he appears to have been prior to the 1970s, there are still 10 paintings of him across the city. This represents only a small proportion of mural paintings, but they are distributed so that each of the main geographical areas has at least one wall devoted to him. A new King Billy painting appeared on Sandy Row in July 1990, others are regularly repainted, and the long established site at Rockland Street was repainted in both 1990 and 1991 (Photo 29). None of these paintings has been allowed to decay or been left vandalised in the past five years; they therefore remain an important touchstone of continuity and certainty within loyalist visual displays. Several other murals depict traditional images which are commonly found on Orange banners: the Closing of the Gates at Derry, the Londonderry coat of arms, the Crown and Bible and commemorations of the battle of the Somme; but the most widespread images now are representations of the paramilitary groups and their emblems.

The two main paramilitary groups are the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) (For

detailed studies of the history and development of both groups see Boulton 1973, Bruce 1992, 1994 and Nelson 1984). The contemporary UVF appeared in 1966. It was banned the same year when its leaders were convicted of sectarian murder. It has since been a shady organisation without a public face, except in symbolic form. To define an identity and to legitimise its activities within the loyalist working class, the UVF has adopted the name and emblems of a widely admired historical body. In so doing it claims the inheritance of the Protestant tradition of forming into paramilitary groups when their position is perceived to be under threat. They thus emphasise the similarity between past and present political situations. This tradition extends back to the 18th century and, although the UVF attempted to extend the link in early issues of their journal *Combat* (see Vol 1 No 2 April 1974), this has not been continued. Instead the UVF stresses the continuity with its predecessor and, by placing itself at the vanguard of loyalist activity, demands the support which the UVF received in the past.

Their central symbol is an upright, gold-coloured oval with the Red Hand of Ulster in the centre and the words "For God and Ulster" around the rim. UVF flags, purple with the Union flag in upper left quadrant, are also common on murals. The use of the date 1912, and reference to the battle of the Somme, further stresses the continuity between the two bodies (Photo 30). Several murals were painted in 1987 to mark the 75th anniversary of the original body. The symbol of the youth wing of the UVF, the Young Citizen Volunteers, a green shamrock with an initial of the organisation on each leaf, also dating from 1912, is widely used on murals.

The UDA was formed in 1971 from local vigilante groups which had sprung up to provide "defence" for Protestant areas, as rioting and violence increased across the city.

It was, in the beginning, a mass movement and was able to demonstrate its strength by parading publicly and manning barricades in no-go zones of loyalist Belfast. In 1974 the UDA was involved in organising the Ulster Workers Council strike, which was a catalyst in dismantling the new power sharing assembly at Stormont. Unlike the UVF, the UDA was unable to draw on a recognisable historical tradition, and instead has created an elaborate iconography to locate itself within the loyalist tradition. Their emblem is developed from the Ulster coat of arms, a red cross on a white shield, with the Red Hand in a six point star in the centre (Photo 31). The initials appear over the shield in a scroll and their motto "Quis Separabit" (Who Shall Separate Us) similarly underneath. Each quadrant contains the emblem of the four groups within the organisation, the UDA, the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), the Loyalist Prisoners Association (LPA) and the Ulster Defence Force (UDF), these all involve variations of the Red Hand. The UDA emblem has a Red Hand on a blue field under a crown (this emblem appears widely on its own as a mural image), the UFF (the name used by the UDA when carrying out acts of violence and banned since 1973) use a simple clenched red fist; the LPA emblem shows the red hand entwined in barbed wire but, with the crown over it, it emphasises the continued loyalty despite imprisonment. Finally the UDF depicts a winged Red Hand with the motto "sans peur" (2). Usually the UDA shield is flanked by the Union Jack and the Ulster flag, although sometimes the Scottish flag replaces one of these.

This coat of arms is based on the device adopted by Ulster Unionists as its version of the historical Ulster symbol during the Home Rule crisis. The composite UDA emblem appeared in the UDA journal in July 1986 (the single UDA emblem had appeared in April 1985): until then a range of devices and flags had been used. Initially the UDA used the motto "Cedanta Arma Togae" (Law Before Violence), but their

spurious ancestry was enhanced by the a Latin motto "Quis Separabit", in use in Ireland for over two hundred years. First recorded on the insignia of the Knights of the Most Illustrious Order of St Patrick, founded in 1783 by George III (Hayes-McCoy 1979 p 40), it was later used by opponents of the second Home Rule Bill during the Ulster Unionist Convention held in Belfast in 1892 (Kee 1982 p 136) and by the Royal Irish Rifles, who fought at the Somme. Although they have followed a less direct path the UDA have adopted a similar strategy to the UVF and have linked their activities with those of an earlier generation of loyalists. Where the UVF have favoured open identification with the paramilitary tradition, the UDA have immersed themselves among constitutional emblems and symbols.

SHANKILL MURALS

The UDA and UVF symbols sometimes appear alone but are also combined with traditional Unionist symbols to create more elaborate statements. A series of murals on the Shankill Road illustrate the strategy followed by the two paramilitary groups, as they locate themselves symbolically within unionist politics. Three paintings commemorate the 75th anniversary of the UVF in 1987. Near Percy Place a map of Ulster is guarded by two gunman, one dressed in early twentieth century clothes, the other a modern day hooded figure (Photo 30). The map is surrounded by the UVF symbols, the words "Ulster Volunteer Force, 1912-1987" and the motto "They fought then for the cause of Ulster, We will fight now" (3). Further up the road a black and white painting depicts four armed men of the motorised division of the 1912 UVF and a portrait of Edward Carson. Nearby, in Craven Street, another mural contrasted the sacrifice at the Somme with contemporary loyalist prisoners in Long Kesh prison (only a fragment of this mural remains, see Rolston (1991 p32) for the entire painting). In contrast the only UDA mural displays the four emblems of the organisation

around a painting of the apprentice boys shutting the gates of Derry in 1688. All four paintings use historical events to legitimise contemporary activities, but the organisations use different approaches. As the UVF has already adopted the original organisation's logo it is easy and obvious to celebrate their anniversaries as well. As volunteer militia and regular army they are shown fighting both the enemy within and the enemy without. The UDA imply an analogy between the action of the young apprentice boys shutting the gates of Derry with their own emergence as a defence/vigilante group, erecting and manning barricades in the working class areas of Belfast. The reactive and defensive actions of the UDA contrasts with the aggressive militarism of the UVF, but both groups use the "legitimate" history of mainstream Unionism to situate their actions. However, these paintings make no concessions to traditional Unionist values nor do they refer to the link with Britain, and the Union Jack is nowhere to be seen. The displays of the Orange Order stress the contemporary relevance of the siege of Derry and the battle of the Somme in terms of faith and sacrifice, while the murals assume a direct analogy between the physical force tradition in the past and the contemporary Troubles.

By juxtaposing paramilitary and traditional emblems the UDA and UVF use the walls of Belfast to make statements about their status within the loyalist movement. These conjunctions veil the overt militarism of the paramilitary groups and adapt the dominant meaning and values of unionist symbols and historical icons by emphasising the militaristic possibilities of the "legal" traditions. This process by which the meaning of traditional or Orange symbols are reinterpreted can be seen in a series of murals in Percy Place, a small cul-de-sac at the bottom of the Shankill. According to the Belfast Telegraph (3-7-1984), local people donated money towards the materials and they were painted by a local man, Alan Skillen, in July 1984.

They were all repainted in 1993.

Facing away from the Shankill Road is a King Billy on horseback and next to it an outline map of Northern Ireland on which the Union Jack and the words "Shankill, No Surrender" are superimposed. Opposite these are five painted gables; the first has a crowned shield in Scottish colours flanked by a Union Jack and the Ulster flag and the slogan "No Surrender 1690"; then a crowned Red Hand with the Scottish and Ulster flags and the words "Ulster, Scotland, United We Stand"; next is a shield based on the UDA emblem but including both UDA and UVF emblems in the four quadrants; behind the shield are two Union Jacks, the slogan reads "Shankill Supports All the Loyalist Prisoners"; the fourth mural is a Red Hand on a blue shield with the words "1690, God Save the Queen"; while the fifth wall depicts a Bible and Crown and has the words "One Faith, One Crown" written across the pages. Collectively these seven large murals depict established Unionist themes, and apart from the reference to the loyalist prisoners would not seem out of place on an Orange parade, but even the reference to the paramilitaries is muted and presented as an act of solidarity with the prisoners, rather than support for militarism.

Painted beneath these large murals and constituting a sub-text which extends across the lower garden walls, are four smaller paintings which change the whole tone of the display. The first also depicts a Union Jacked outline of Ulster but in place of the Ulster star in the centre, a hooded gunman raises a clenched fist and proclaims "We Will Never Accept a United Ireland, Ulster Still Says No"; the second depicts the blue UDA shield with other paramilitary emblems around it; the third portrays a hooded gunman in front of the Ulster and the UVF flags and two UVF shields. The slogan states "This is Loyalist West Belfast, Shankill No Surrender", on the final painting the UDA shield sits in

front of the Scottish and Ulster flags.

In contrast to the large paintings, this group focus solely on paramilitary concerns, but their proximity to the larger Unionist murals means that the meaning is both elaborated and reorientated. If the paramilitary groups are attempting to define themselves as the contemporary expression of traditional values, then these traditional values must be reconsidered as well. The paramilitary allusion to the potential and actual violence behind the Protestant Ascendancy forces recognition of the darker side of Ulster history. Thus the Red Hand proclaiming "God Save the Queen" is directly above a Red Hand in the centre of a UDA shield, the gunman on the red, white and blue Ulster is opposite a similar map with the Ulster star in the centre. The Union Jack features prominently on the larger paintings, but it has virtually disappeared from the symbolic repertoire of the paramilitary groups (although the crown is still loyally invoked by the UDA), and the Scottish flags become an extension of Protestant solidarity rather than constitutional unity. Rolston states that collectively these murals depict "an intense representation of loyalist armed struggle that had not been witnessed previously" (1991,40). It still remains one of the most elaborate. The paintings link the aims and ideals of the UDA/UVF with those of mainstream Unionism in defending Ulster's links with Britain, but as we have already seen, with regards to Orange iconography, the ambivalence as to what those links are at heart remains a problem: Ulster is still British but, apart from the crown, Scotland is the only clearly identified embodiment of that union. The murals on the Shankill suggest an emergent working class critique of Orangeism but, although they reframe the traditional meanings of unionist symbols, these images make no attempt to question the sectarian nature of Ulster's political system and their reinterpretation can only be taken so far. The loyalists may challenge the middle class values of the

political order of Unionism, but these paintings will not risk Protestant unity (4).

MURALS AND LOCAL IDENTITY

In journalistic accounts murals have often been discussed as boundary markers, warnings that territories have changed allegiance. Some indeed can be understood in this way, three large paintings on Crumlin Road, are clearly visible to anyone using this thoroughfare into the city centre. These depict an array of loyalist symbols and flags with the most elaborate mural portraying two hooded gunmen firing automatic weapons at an unseen enemy. They help to confirm the intimidating presence beyond, with a display of symbolic unity of the contemporary paramilitary groups. As symbolic sentries the images reinforce the identity of the streets beyond, although local people who use the road already know well enough the reputation of the Shankill. But these are unusual in being visible from a neutral area; most paintings are situated in the heart of the various estates and will only be seen by people who live near them or move through those areas. The Shankill murals are largely unknown to residents of other loyalist areas of the city and remain invisible to neighbouring nationalist communities. These are very localised statements of allegiance; even the complex array of paintings in Percy Place are largely invisible from the Shankill Road only 50 metres away. Simple symbolic displays such as painted kerbstones are widely used to signify boundaries but murals only rarely demarcate territories, instead they address the identity of an area to those within rather than those without. They help to define and confirm the nature of the ideological, rather than geographical, boundary between the two communities (Barth 1969, Cohen 1985, 1986).

In south Belfast the murals are used to express the distinctive identities within the Protestant community,

rather than create an appearance of paramilitary unity. This area is bounded by the city centre to the north and the university district to the south; it is divided from the Falls by the motorway in the west, and faces the newly nationalist Ormeau Road in the east. The people of Sandy Row, Donegall Pass, Roden Street and the Village are united by membership in the Orange Order, and symbolically linked by the mini-Twelfth parades but there remains a degree of hostility and competitiveness between the areas (Holloway 1994a, 1994b). This sense of difference is visible in the patterns of allegiance displayed on the walls.

Paramilitary murals predominate in south Belfast, but Orange subjects are more numerous than elsewhere, each of the four areas has a prominent painting of King William and five of the ten King Billy paintings in Belfast are in this area. At Rockland Street, in the Village, King Billy has occupied the same site since the late 1920s. Another painting on the Donegall Pass, and the adjacent memorial to the late Robert Bradford MP, are replicas of murals that were located in nearby Lindsay Street until redevelopment destroyed them. In both cases the paintings themselves provide a touchstone of continuity within areas that have undergone major physical and demographic change. They provide a visible expression of the seemingly unchanged ideals of unionism through times of uncertainty. However, nearby on Sandy Row King Billy has been adapted to the context of the Troubles. A mural, painted in 1990 for the 300th anniversary of the Boyne, frames the king with two gunmen, one in seventeenth century costume and the other in contemporary fatigues. An adjacent scroll bears the words "We the loyalist people of Sandy Row remember with pride the 300th anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, No Surrender, signed UFF". Here William is less the bringer of civil and religious liberties and more a warrior king.

UDA murals were the most prominent on Sandy Row until a

small UVF mural was painted on Albion Street in 1993. However, in response to the IRA ceasefire of September 1994, the UDA presence was reaffirmed with two large murals depicting the Red Hand emblem of the organisation (see below). In contrast, in Donegall Pass there are no references to the UDA and instead the most prominent murals, besides King Billy, commemorate the 36th Ulster Division and battle of the Somme, indirect references to the UVF. One depicts three soldiers with heads bowed mourning their fallen comrades, nearby the emblem of the South Belfast Young Conquerors Flute Band is incorporated among the symbols of the UVF, YCV, the Royal Irish Rifles and the 36th Ulster Division (Photo 32). It is through these displays of support for the paramilitary groups that the sense of distinction and local identity is displayed in this area. Although this distinction is apparent between Sandy Row and the Donegall Pass, it is more notable in the contrasts between the Village and Roden Street.

At the head of Roden Street is a large memorial to John McMichael, a former leader of the UDA, which incorporates references to the Roden Street Defenders and the UFF. In nearby streets there are UDA emblems, a large hooded UFF gunman, a Loyalist Prisoners Association mural and another in the name of the Ulster Young Militants, youth wing of the UDA, as well as a painting of King Billy. There are no references to other paramilitary groups but only a few streets away in the Village, the murals proclaim support for the UVF and Red Hand Commando. There are only four murals in Belfast which mention the RHC and three of them are in the Village area. This group was formed in 1972 and was involved in paramilitary killings in the 1972-3 period before merging with the UVF (the mural also includes a UVF flag), otherwise little is known about it (Boulton 1973, Bruce 1992). Until recently, the Village also boasted a mural to Michael Stone, now in prison for his fatal attack on the mourners at the funeral of the three IRA members

killed by the SAS in Gibraltar (Bruce 1992). On the mural he was shown with a gun in his hand, over three grave stones, symbols of his victims. Next to him was the emblem of the UVF. This mural is unusual in commemorating a living paramilitary but is not unique, in the Fountain estate in Derry there is another mural to Michael Stone which depicts him on King Billy's white horse, firing a pistol over a grave stone and the words "You've heard of King William III...Now meet King Michael Stone I. Milltown 16 March 1988".

In contrast to the Shankill, in south Belfast, the paramilitary groups appear to have separate territories, with no common space for combined displays, but this territorial division may have more to do with music rather than guns. As Bell (1990) has noted in his study of young loyalists in Derry, it is the young men, often members or supporters of the "blood and thunder" flute bands, who play the most prominent role in decorating the areas and building the bonfires for the Twelfth celebrations. The bands often form the centre of social life for the young men and many attract a sizeable following of friends and neighbours when they parade. It is the bands who have introduced paramilitary emblems to Orange parades. This link between the two is extended onto many walls, as the young men have adapted the mural tradition to their own interests and numerous paintings celebrating various flute bands have appeared among paramilitary images. These paintings oscillate in subject matter between creating a trade mark image for the band, and linking the band with a specific paramilitary group. In Roden Street the local band, the Roden Street Defenders, linguistically link themselves with the UDA, while a mural painted in 1992 depicted a drunken bandsman with an empty glass, a self mocking reference to the fact that the band had been banned from Orange parades for improper behaviour. The nearby Pride of the Village Flute Band have included their name on

the RHC mural adjacent to the King Billy painting on Rockland Street (Photo 31). This suggests that the division of allegiance between the UDA in Roden Street and the UVF/RHC in the Village, coincides with the support for the two different bands.

Band murals are widespread across the city and give a permanent presence to the bandsmen who are otherwise only visible on parading days. They impress themselves on the viewer with the unlikely juxtaposition of cartoon figure emblems and paramilitary symbols. In Tiger's Bay in north Belfast, two murals to the Tigers Bay First Flute Band depict cartoon tigers in band uniforms, while nearby there are a range of UVF and UDA murals and a large King Billy; in the Mersey Street area of east Belfast, a cartoon drummer from the East Belfast Protestant Boys takes his place among a similar mixture of paintings. In these areas there is no competition for territory between bands and no competition within the loyalist ideological spectrum, UDA and UVF murals stand side by side, but elsewhere bands are more clearly identified with a particular group. The South Belfast Young Conquerors mural on Donegall Pass is full of references to the 36th Ulster Division, while the Gertrude Star Flute Band on Templemore Avenue, in east Belfast, use UDA emblems as the basis for their designs. In both cases the band have constructed their iconography within the parameters established by the paramilitary groups and have adopted UVF and UDA emblems respectively, as well as their own distinctive characters. The relationship between paramilitaries, bands and murals is complex. Clearly many murals are painted both for and by supporters of the paramilitary groups but at the same time, the bands frequently adopt paramilitary regalia and often transfer their support onto the walls around where they live. Bell (1990) suggests that this display is predominantly an act of bravado and does not necessarily infer any connection or contact between the two groups. It may be impossible to

distinguish between areas where "genuine" support for the paramilitaries is strong and areas where the young are claiming allegiance as a mark of distinction. But it would be wrong to suggest that there is no "real" paramilitary involvement in the murals. The UDA magazine New Ulster Defender magazine (Vol.1 No.3) reported Twelfth of July celebrations in the Maze prison and carried photographs of both UDA and UVF murals and paintings of paramilitary gunmen painted in the loyalist blocks.

Of the murals painted for the paramilitary groups the memorial murals in particular remain important to the organisations concerned. These are regularly repainted and kept free from graffiti. The John McMichael mural on Roden Street has in the past been defaced by UVF graffiti (presumably by lads from the Village), but this was quickly removed. The April 1993 edition of "New Ulster Defender" carried photographs of three paint bombed UDA murals in the Roden Street area, the report ended with an ominous remark

it is hoped that those responsible for defacing the murals will be caught and the punishment will fit the crime.

Although there is no evidence that any punishment resulted from his defacing of the mural, it is an indication that the paramilitary groups regard at least some of the paintings as more than mere transient graffiti.

MEMORIAL MURALS

The practice of honouring the dead on murals is an extension of the wider process of legitimising paramilitary violence which began with the adoption of UVF emblems, and the focus on the battle of the Somme as the epitome of the courage, heroism and military prowess of the Ulstermen (Photos 47, 48). It is the Somme that provides the imagery and rhetoric for many of the subsequent murals. Probably the earliest of these murals is a UVF memorial in

Ballysillan, north Belfast, dating from 1986, which commemorates the dead and also the imprisoned members. The design is based on the UVF banners which are carried on parades, but with the list of campaigns fought in the First World War replaced by the names of UVF volunteers. The first UDA memorial mural appeared the following year on Dee Street, in east Belfast, and forms a "Roll of Honour" to 17 members of the East Belfast UDA who have been killed in the Troubles. Painted in the apex of a gable wall, the names of the dead appear on scrolls wrapped around classical columns. In the centre the UDA shield is suspended from a cross. A similar, but larger design, commemorating the south Belfast UDA, with John McMichael's name prominently displayed, was painted on a gable on Sandy Row in October 1994. Another common image is derived from the Somme mural on Donegall Pass; this painting features three silhouetted figures mourning their fallen comrades, their heads are bowed and their hands rest on their weapons. The representation of sorrow has subsequently been used on a number of murals to the paramilitary dead. Two figures flank the memorial to UDA leader John McMichael at Roden Street, while a single figure mourns UVF gunman Brian Robinson in Woodvale, on Hopewell Avenue two figures mark the memorial to Red Hand Commando member Stevie McCrea. McCrea is also commemorated on a large RHC mural in the Village but here, and in a mural to William "Bucky" McCullough in Woodvale, the paramilitary figures fire a final salute. As a further allusion to the comparison between the sacrifice on the Somme and the sacrifice for modern Ulster, the Hopewell Avenue mural also quotes lines from Laurence Binyon's poem "For the Fallen", which has become the standard eulogy at World War One commemorations

For he shall not grow old
As we that are let grow old
Age shall not weary him
Nor the years condemn
At the going down of the sun
And in the morning
We will remember him.

This process by which the paramilitary groups compare themselves and their dead with those who fell at the Somme is made explicit elsewhere

At this time of year when Ulster Loyalists everywhere commemorate and celebrate the sacrifices and victories throughout our proud history in general, but in particular at the siege of Londonderry and the great battles of the Boyne and the Somme. Let us not forget those, who during our present conflict, have made the supreme sacrifice, and those who have sacrificed their liberty, in our struggle. (Communique 1 July 1991, from UDA Inner Council, in Ulster, July/August 1991).

Besides the murals, McMichael, Robinson and McCrea are all further commemorated by bands and by banners carried on Orange parades; but in spite of the rhetoric, these commemorations honour neither heroic nor tragic deaths. John McMichael, one-time head and a self-styled Brigadier of the UFF, was killed by an IRA bomb in 1987. It was rumoured that information on his vehicle was passed to the IRA by members of his own organisation (Bruce 1992). Bruce (p246) also recounts that McCullough, a UDA company commander, is thought to have been killed as a result of disagreements within the organisation. Brian Robinson was shot dead by the security forces on the nearby Crumlin Road, after he had himself shot an unarmed Catholic man in the back, and Stevie McCrea had spent 16 of his 35 years in prison before he was gunned down outside a Shankill drinking club.

While the Orangemen commemorate the sacrifice of Protestant martyrs for their faith and for the "Glory of God", and they remember the men of the 36th Ulster Division who died for King and Country, the paramilitary fight is fought for Ulster alone. The memorial painted in 1991 in Percy Place to "Councillor and Assemblyman George Seawright" (who was expelled from the DUP after he had suggested that all Catholics should be incinerated and later killed by the Irish Peoples Liberation Organisation [Bruce 1992, Irish Freedom Movement 1987]) is iconically linked to the Somme

by a bunch of red poppies, but contextualised with the lines "In remembrance of all those who given their lives and their freedom in the struggle to keep Ulster Protestant". Although militarism alone is insufficient to establish the broader morality of the cause, once the sacrifices of today are seen to match the sacrifices of 1916 then the cause is ennobled and the paramilitary campaign can legitimately map itself onto the heroic history of Ulster, and just as the UVF (Combat July 1991) claim of the Somme dead that

Not just today, seventy-five years on, but for ever more shall their name liveth....Ne Obliviscaris.

so they hope that the volunteers of the contemporary campaign will be remembered "at the going down of the sun, and in the morning".

CHANGING ALLEGIANCES

The resurgence of mural painting within the loyalist working class areas that began around 1984-5 peaked in about 1988. The signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement at Hillsborough in 1985 heightened political tension in the north, with widespread unionist opposition expressed on the streets by the "Ulster says No" campaign (a few murals with this slogan still remain). These protests, and the 75th anniversary of the UVF in 1987, gave an opportunity and the impetus to the paramilitary groups to extend their public presence and the chance to legitimise their place within the loyalist tradition. The paintings in Percy Place and a similar extensive group in the Mersey Street area of east Belfast exemplify the way in which the loyalists initially situated themselves ideologically within the unionist tradition. Their ideals are built on and extend the established icons and symbols of the Ulster Protestants and the paramilitaries only claimed or extended the meaning of symbols that were already widely recognised and understood.

But, in recent years, images have begun to appear which ignore or reject many of the traditional symbols, and instead incorporate new designs which express something of a shift in publicly expressed beliefs.

Since 1992 a group of paintings has been built up over four gables and the connecting garden walls on the Newtownards Road. These explore and develop the theme of the changing nature of Ulster's identity. The first appeared as the locally raised Ulster Defence Regiment was being amalgamated with the Royal Irish Rangers to create the Royal Irish Regiment. Many loyalists saw the replacement of Ulster by Irish in the name as a significant reflection of the influence of Dublin on Ulster affairs. The mural depicted a UDR man and a "B" Special policeman with the slogan "Ulster's Past Defenders", behind them stood the Ulster flag and the Union Jack, and beneath them the question "Who will Defend Ulster Now". The B Specials were an almost totally Protestant police reserve formed at the same time as the Northern Ireland state in 1920, and disbanded because of the violence and inherent sectarianism of the force in 1970 (Farrell 1983). The Ulster Defence Regiment was a unit of the British Army but had a reputation as a Protestant regiment. There has also been a number of accusations of collusion and co-membership between members of the UDR and the UDA/UVF (Bruce 1992). On the adjacent gable a UDA gunman, identified as "Ulsters Present Day Defenders", stands in front of the mythical hero Cuchulainn, who is described as an "Ancient defender of Ulster from Irish attacks over 2000 years ago" (Photo 40). They stand on a Union Jack and beside a shield decorated with the Ulster cross. Connecting these two images are the words "Our message to the Irish is simple, Hands off Ulster, Irish Out, The Ulster Conflict is about Nationality". These paintings makes explicit claims for the UDA as a continuation of the "B" Specials and the UDR tradition, but it also marks the debut of Cuchulainn on the

walls of loyalist Belfast. Whereas the UVF have presented themselves as the inheritors of the tradition of Protestant volunteer militias, this is the first time that the UDA have spelled out their claimed ancestry rather than simply allude to a history through heraldic emblems and Williamite images. The tradition of the loyalist defenders of Ulster can now be extended back to the dawn of Ulster's history. Cuchulainn, central figure of the Celtic epic "Tain Bo Cuailnge" has until recently been regarded solely as a nationalist hero and is widely used in Republican visual memorials but within the past 20 years he has been invoked as an Ulsterman as part of a revision of Irish prehistory which includes making the Protestants more Irish than the Irish (Adamson 1974, 1982, 1991, Hall 1986, Ulster Young Unionist Council 1986, 1995 and see next chapter).

The murals also invoke the concept of an Ulster nationality for the first time. Although the idea of an independent Ulster has been floated periodically within the UDA (UDA 1979, UPRG 1987, Graham and McGarry 1990) and by the small Ulster Independence Committee, the idea had not been taken up in the popular political arena until Independent Ulster flags began appearing at parades and among the street decorations in July 1992. The new flag was first portrayed on a UVF mural in Rathfern, north of Belfast at this time, where three adjacent paramilitary murals depict the Independent Ulster flag with the Ulster Cross and flags of the UDA and UVF. The painting has no reference to the Union Jack. Over Easter 1993 a mural to the Ulster Young Militants was painted adjacent to the Cuchulainn painting and this also included the new red, blue and yellow flag next to a Scottish flag and a UYM shield with a clenched Red Hand. Also included were the old standard Protestant refrain of "Our civil and religious liberties we will maintain". A large lettered slogan announced this area as "Ulster's Freedom Corner". Shortly afterwards the Cuchulainn mural was repainted; this time the UDA emblem

was made more prominent and, more importantly, the design on the shield was changed from the official Ulster cross to the new independent Ulster design.

Finally in 1994 a fourth wall was claimed by the muralists with a UFF design featuring a large clenched red fist, a gunman and the statement

For as long as one hundred of us remain alive we shall never in any way consent to submit to the rule of the Irish. For its not for glory we fight but for freedom alone which no man loses but with his life.

In 1993 and 1994 as the emerging peace process came to dominate the political agenda of Ulster, it was the UDA/UFF who were most prominent in painting new loyalist murals. The pattern described above ran through all their paintings in east Belfast, on the Shankill, around Roden Street and on Sandy Row. The Union Jack does not appear on any of these paintings, and the original composite UDA shield based on the Ulster Cross has been abandoned and replaced by the UDA emblem alone or the UFF clenched fist. The traditional touchstones of the unionist identity no longer underpin the iconography, only the crown retains its prominent position. Hooded paramilitary figures have also become more prominent than in the past. These figures appear besides defiant slogans like the one above, cloaking the threat of violence with the language of liberty. Although the independent Ulster flag does not appear on any except the Newtownards Road mural, it is widely flown in loyalist areas. The displays confirm a determination to "resist any Eire involvement in our country" (to quote one mural) come what may, while symbolically retreating to an Ulster alone position.

As the loyalist paramilitaries declared a ceasefire in October 1994, the UVF confirmed its position with a similar display of militarism and insularity on the walls of Belfast. The writing contrasts with the language of the

loyalist politicians in the Progressive Unionist and the Ulster Democratic Parties who have challenged the authority of unionist establishment and offer overtures of dialogue to the republican movement. This perhaps helps to confirm the use of murals as part of an internal dialogue, being used to reassure supporters of the hardline position, while they publicly proclaim a more pragmatic approach. Rolston has argued that since the onset of the Troubles the Protestant community has gone through a period of confusion and uncertainty regarding their identity and status within the United Kingdom, that old symbols and values have lost their meaning and new ones have not been forthcoming to replace them. It has been left to the young males to reaffirm and redefine a sense of community and this has led to a increasing reliance on militaristic values rather than the religious traditions of their parents. Traditional images have not disappeared or been abandoned and they are still paraded at every opportunity, but perhaps for the first time they are being challenged and redefined more systematically from within. As the Unionist certainties have been undermined, so the Orange hegemony has faded, as the supporters of the UDA and UVF have attempted to create a space within the Protestant community to challenge accepted notions of loyalty. The politicians have increasingly been seen as ineffectual in providing the economic security and standards they once delivered, and the role of the security forces when turned on the loyalists also begs questions. The Ulster Protestant working class have always had an ambivalent attitude to the British state, loyalty balanced by fear of betrayal, and it is this relationship that the idea of an Independent Ulster confronts head on. Although the idea is regularly talked down by all parties, it also resurfaces with regularity. Previous attempts to construct a political framework for loyalism have been defeated internally by the fear of compromise, but perhaps with the IRA ceasefire the opportunity will be exploited to develop some new ideas.



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PART FOUR, CHAPTER 13.
REPUBLICAN MURALS.

Although a few nationalist murals have been recorded from before the 1980s in general the nationalist community had no tradition of mural painting until recently. The walls of nationalist areas were not used as part of the commemorative process or for expressions of political sentiment. The 1954 Flags and Emblems Act banned nationalist visual displays where it was likely to cause an offence, in practice this was often interpreted to mean anywhere in Northern Ireland. This meant that commemorations of Irish nationalist history or republican heroes were muted or held in non public areas. Any attempt to mount prominent displays were inevitably opposed by loyalists. In the run up to the 1964 General Election a tricolour was flown from Republican Party offices in Divis Street in the Lower Falls. Ian Paisley, among others, protested at the "offence" and threatened to lead a protest to remove it, forcing the RUC to act first (the RUC station was next door to the offices). They smashed their way into the offices and removed the offending flag, only for it to be replaced the next day. Following the second removal of the flag, rioting broke out and at least 30 people were taken to hospital seriously injured (Boyd 1987). In the late 1980s, DUP councillor George Seawright broke into a leisure centre on the Falls Road at night to remove an Irish tricolour (Combat July 1991). In 1970, two men were sentenced to six months imprisonment for painting a tricolour and the slogan "Ireland Unfree shall never be at Peace" in Annadale Street in Belfast (IN 23-7-1970). Ten

years later, a sixteen year old youth was shot dead by the RUC as he painted republican slogans. The constable claimed that he thought the paint brush was a gun. He was found not guilty of murder (Rolston 1991 p 102). These examples illustrate the measures that could be taken to prevent displays of support for republicans and also how the police were instrumental in maintaining the public face of the "Protestant State".

Excluded from contributing to a broader political or cultural identity of Northern Ireland, the identity of the nationalist community was maintained and developed through the church (which also ran the education system for all Catholics) and through Gaelic sports, music and dancing. The cultural practices of the two communities scarcely overlapped, operating in different spaces, at different times (Sunday is the main day for Irish sports) and sometimes in different languages. The public domain remained Unionist and loyal to a British identity (see Bryson and McCartney (1994) for an extended discussion on the use of flags and emblems in Northern Ireland).

MURALS AND THE HUNGER STRIKES

The explosion of painting that appeared in the nationalist estates of Belfast, Derry and elsewhere in the north during the hunger strikes of 1981 did not emerge from a vacuum. The expansion of the IRA armed struggle throughout the 1970s, from its beginnings in the defence of the Catholic working class estates to a programme of concerted opposition to continued British presence in the north, led to a growing prison population. Some of these prisoners had been convicted, but many had simply been interned since the practice was introduced in August 1971. The internment centres in turn became (among other things) educational centres, teaching political theory, Irish history and language. Among other activities, many inmates turned to

crafts and artistic works, producing paintings, woodcarvings and leather work to be sent out to friends and relatives, featuring such images as Celtic crosses, harps, the phoenix and portrayals of republican political heroes such as Pearse and Connolly (Adams 1990, Rolston 1991). They also decorated their own quarters in the compounds of Long Kesh:

there were murals...the Proclamation of the Irish Republic with the heads of the signatories drawn around it, and on the opposite side was a big portrait, the red face, black beret, and star of Che Guevara. So you had Guevara and 1916 (Internee Jake Jackson quoted in O'Malley [1990 p 45]).

Religious and Gaelic symbols and historical images were forged together with internationalist icons to create a new republican iconography which would later be reproduced on the nationalist streets of Belfast, Derry and elsewhere. The first republican murals appeared in support of the hunger strikers in the H Blocks of Long Kesh prison. Initially republican and loyalist prisoners convicted or interned for political acts were given Special Category Status and treated as virtual prisoners of war, wearing their own clothes and with their own paramilitary command structure in the compounds. By 1975 there were some 1200 Special Category prisoners (or political prisoners from the republican perspective) (Coogan 1987). From 1976, as part of a wider process designed to normalise (ie depoliticise) the situation in Northern Ireland, Special Category Status was revoked for new prisoners, many republican prisoners in both Long Kesh and in the women's prison at Armagh who were denied special status refused to wear prison clothing and went "on the blanket", with only prison issue blankets as covering. After four years the Blanket Protest had failed to achieve its aims and pressure was increased as a number of prisoners began a hunger strike. This ended after 53 days, without any deaths, when a compromise agreement seemed to have been reached, but, when it appeared that this agreement was not being implemented, a second hunger

strike began on March 1 1981. This was led by Bobby Sands, the Officer Commanding the IRA prisoners (see Beresford 1987, Clarke 1987 and O'Malley 1990 for accounts and analyses of the hunger strike).

In the summer of 1979 while the prisoners were still on the blanket protest, Bobby Sands had sent a "comm" (a smuggled communication between prisoners and the movement on the outside) suggesting that "a massive Paint and Poster campaign" and a painting spree "that would cover the countryside" should be started to increase awareness and support for the prisoners (O'Malley 1990 p 54). The appearance of these standardised slogans and simple images prepared the ground for the murals. Murals appeared during the early stages of the hunger strike to escalate publicity and mobilise public support, but mural painting only really took off after Sands died after 66 days on strike, having been elected Westminster MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone in the meantime. In the months after his death, over 150 murals were painted in Northern Ireland (Rolston 1991).

The murals were dominated by the hunger strikes, especially paintings of Bobby Sands which were based on a photograph of him as a smiling and happy young man. Other images depicted prison brutality, or linked the long haired emaciated appearance of the prisoners with Catholic images of the suffering Christ, the Madonna and angels. Besides the representations of heroic suffering, images of IRA volunteers with a varied assortment of weapons also appeared. After the hunger strikes ended, many sites were painted out, but new murals supporting the continuing political and military campaign appeared as the spontaneous outburst of painting of the previous period was co-opted within the resurgent republican movement and became part of the Sinn Fein publicity machine.

Rolston argues that after 1985 republican mural painting entered a time of crisis; few new paintings were made, the energy of the previous years had been spent and no major campaign had replaced the hunger strikes as a mobilising issue. Many of the young painters had either abandoned painting or if they remained active within Sinn Fein, then their efforts went elsewhere (Rolston 1991 pp 103-4). However Republican murals have continued to be painted, over 80 have been recorded in Belfast and over 30 in Derry since 1990; some of these date back to the mid-eighties but the majority have been painted in more recent years. Having established a "tradition" of mural painting, republican murals have expanded in range both backwards in time to commemorate their history, and outwards in space to establish a wider base for their political struggle. The expansion of murals and other public imagery following the IRA ceasefire in 1994 merely confirms how the medium has become central to the political process in the past 15 years.

SF and the IRA has a near monopoly of mural paintings in nationalist areas; none of the other republican groups have any visual presence on the streets, neither does the other, larger political grouping within the nationalist movement the Social Democratic and Labour Party. The types of territorial variation in support for the paramilitaries found in loyalist areas is not a factor in understanding the continued development of republican murals. The major exception to this republican monopoly of wall paintings are a number of murals sponsored by the Catholic Church. The Church has always had a visual impact in nationalist areas, with statues of the Madonna outside of churches and streetside grottoes in some areas, but the use of murals was a new departure that followed in the wake of the republican movement. At the bottom of the Falls Road a large Madonna and Child adorns a wall of a church hostel. Clearly visible from the edge of the city centre, it is the

most prominent feature as one approaches the Lower Falls, apart, that is, from the security antennae on the adjacent Divis Tower. In the New Lodge, Ardoyne, Clonard and Springhill areas there are murals to Mary or "Our Lady of Medjugorje", (a pilgrim site in former Yugoslavia [Taylor 1995]). Finally in Westrock Drive, in Ballymurphy, Mary holds the baby Jesus aloft. This painting is adjacent to a mural proclaiming "Victory to the IRA" and opposite another portraying three hooded and armed IRA volunteers. It seem to have been positioned to challenge the claim that "Our Day Will Come" or at least to question whether it will come from the barrel of a gun.

Although republican murals began as an extension of a political campaign, they have been adapted to the commemorative process in nationalist areas just as they have by loyalists. However Republicans more readily emphasise the events of the recent past as part of the continuity of resistance and suffering against imperialism. The 1981 hunger strikes are still recalled on a variety of paintings; on Whiterock Road a large letter "H", with three white doves, the words Freedom, Justice and Peace and the slogan "We Will be Free" is reminiscent of many of the earlier H Block murals. Bobby Sands is portrayed prominently in Twinbrook where he lived, and again on the wall of the Republican Press Centre on the Falls Road. Both murals have the same quotation from Sands himself "Everyone Republican or otherwise has his/her own part to play". The Falls Road mural can be seen by everyone coming up the main thoroughfare of West Belfast. Besides his portrait is a lark, named as "The Spirit of Freedom" which was Sands' pen name and his symbol for his prison writings, and which has become a more general symbol of Republican prison resistance. Until the winter of 1992, Sands' portrait faced a mural of Nelson Mandela which had been painted to mark his 70th birthday in 1988. This was one of a number of solidarity murals used to link the IRA campaign with other

national struggles. In this case an analogy was made between the position of the two men and the state of their countries. Mandela, the imprisoned radical whose cause was taken up by western governments and soon to become the President of South Africa was confronted by Bobby Sands MP who was regarded as a criminal and allowed to die by Margaret Thatcher's government (or murdered by fellow members of Parliament as one painting in Andersonstown states).

Joe McDonnell was another hunger striker commemorated in Belfast. His portrait, painted in Rosnareen Avenue, Andersonstown to mark the tenth anniversary of his death, was unveiled at a formal opening ceremony and damaged by a paint bomb three days later (An Phoblacht 25.7.91). Having been repainted at least once and then further damaged it was replaced by a mural proclaiming Irish-Basque solidarity in August 1992, in turn replaced by another mural following the 1994 ceasefire. McDonnell's portrait appeared over a fiery orange-red sunset sky and above the watch towers and barbed wire fencing of the Long Kesh prison, an image widely used in hunger strike murals. In the portraits of McDonnell and Sands, the men transcend the brutal reality of the blanket protest and the hunger strike, as they retain youthful, healthy, groomed appearances. This contrasts with the generalised and depersonalised representations of blanket men, who are portrayed gaunt and unkempt. On the New Lodge Road and on Ardoyne Avenue these long haired, bearded blanket men are seen staring out above the prison skyline. The New Lodge mural lists the names of the 10 who died and demands "You stood by them then! Remember them now!" (Photo 33).

REPUBLICANISM AS TRADITION

In 1981 the strike was the cutting edge of a political struggle, today it has been absorbed into Irish Republican

mythology, although to a degree which was anticipated all along, as this tactic has been used on a number of occasions this century (Sweeney 1993). On the first hunger strike in 1980, seven republicans fasted simultaneously; as a declaration of intent, this symbolically mirrored the seven signatories to the 1916 proclamation of the Irish Republic. The second strike differed tactically; Sands started alone but timed his fast to climax around Easter. The images at the time clearly picked up on both the religious and historical allusions within the protest, and contemporary images of anonymous blanket men retain the Christ-like representations of 1981, unselfishly suffering and sacrificing themselves for the benefit of their fellow prisoners.

In mediating to bring an end to the strike, the Irish Catholic Church were not only aware of this popular analogy, but seemed prepared to contribute to it, perhaps well aware of the emotions generated by the sacrificial deaths of republicans in 1916 (McHugh 1968, Whyte 1967). The Church refused publicly either to condemn the men or to describe their actions as suicide. At least one priest has argued that Christ himself could have saved himself and need not have died on the cross (O'Malley 1990 p 109). The hunger strikers themselves, while versed in the theological defence of their actions, argued that it was the intransigence of the British government that would cause their deaths. They themselves were also well aware that public support for the 1916 Easter Rising was not manifest until after the British government had executed the leaders. The 1916 executions spanned the period of May 3rd to May 12th, and Bobby Sands died on May 5th 1981, the anniversary of the execution of John MacBride. Yeats later wrote of the executions in 1916, that "a terrible beauty is born". In turn the hunger strikes were claimed to be the last card of a desperate IRA, but instead they proved to be the impetus for their shift into electoral politics.

On the Hunger Strike memorial at Shantallow, and on the memorial to Sands in Twinbrook, a phoenix is shown rising from the fires of death. The phoenix was adopted into Irish politics as the emblem of the Irish Republican Brotherhood or Fenian movement in the 1860s. After their failed rising in 1865, the Fenians went underground and were the key organisation behind the Easter Rising in 1916 (Newsinger 1994). The phoenix symbolises both the process of rebirth from the ashes of defeat and thereby the indestructibility of the republican cause. It affirms the inevitability and certainty of continued risings until a United Ireland is obtained, and in its historical resonance links the IRA with their 19th century counterparts. It also resonates with the early years of the Troubles, as it was the rioting and burning of Catholic houses in the lower Falls area which brought about the rebirth of the IRA itself from an almost moribund position in 1969. Just as republicans proclaim that the Irish people cannot be defeated, so the IRA will rise from the ashes of previous defeated armed rebellions.

The phoenix is the one of a number of symbols which the republican movement uses to situate itself and its activities historically. Many of these are brought together on murals to the Easter Rising (Photo 34), an event which was both a culmination of earlier unsuccessful attempts to remove British rule and also provides the inspiration for the current campaign. On the Whiterock Road, the seven signatories of the proclamation of Irish Independence plus Countess Marcievicz appear in front of the date 1916, painted in huge flaming numbers, while the Dublin GPO burns in the corner. In the centre Tom Clarke holds the tricolour aloft as James Connolly urges his men to fight. The apex of the gable includes the phoenix rising from the flames, the Starry Plough symbol of the Irish Citizen Army and an orange sunburst, a symbol used by the Repeal Association in the 1840s, the Fenians in the 1870s and the Irish

Volunteers in 1914 and now the symbol of the Fianna Eireann, the Republican youth movement. At Beechmount Avenue, at the site where the annual Easter Commemoration parade begins, the phoenix rises from the burning GPO above a chained arm holding an Easter lily over a map of Ireland (Photo 34). The lily with its white petals, orange stamen and green leaves replicates the Irish tricolour and was adopted by Cumann na mBan, the republican women's movement, in the 1920s (Loftus 1994). But the white lily also has a long association as a christian symbol of the Virgin and as such was used to decorate churches at Easter (Goody 1992). Republican symbols relate not just to their own political tradition but connect their aims and aspirations to those of the broader and more conservative nationalist community.

Surrounding the map are the coat of arms of the four provinces of Ireland, Connacht, Leinster, Munster and Ulster, emblems that appear together on numerous republican murals and as flags are carried at all republican parades. The Ulster emblem is of course the older red and yellow nationalist shield, rather than the red and white version used by loyalists, and together they reaffirm the essential unity of the island. These main symbols, the tricolour, phoenix, sunburst, starry plough, easter lily and the coats of arms signify the position of the IRA as inheritors of a long standing tradition reaching back into the 18th century and which has encompassed many diverse historical strands of political thinking within the contemporary republican umbrella.

A number of other elaborate murals commemorate the Rising. Many, like the one on Whiterock Road, were painted to mark the 75th anniversary in 1991, which had heightened importance for republicans when the Dublin government kept its own ceremonies low key, underplaying the historical significance of the event (Ni Dhonnchadha and Dorgan 1991). In the Short Strand an Easter lily is surrounded by the

tricolour, the Starry Plough and the coats of arms of the four provinces; in Turf Lodge the event is commemorated by portraits of Padraig Pearse and James Connolly; on Berwick Road in the Ardoyne the portraits of all seven signatories to the Proclamation of Independence encircle a large Easter lily and in Clonard, Constance Markievicz joins the seven men. Many simpler paintings can be found across the city.

The Provisional IRA claim legitimacy for their armed struggle by arguing that they are the direct inheritors of the Irish Republic proclaimed in 1916 by the Provisional Government.

The moral position of the Irish Republican Army, its right to engage in warfare, is based on: (a) the right to resist foreign aggression; (b) the right to revolt against tyranny and oppression; and (c) the direct lineal succession with the Provisional Government of 1916, the first Dail of 1919 and the second Dail of 1921. (From the Green Book quoted in Coogan [1987 p 685]).

The subsequent Governments of the Republic are derived from the 1922 Dail which, republicans claim, betrayed the ideals of the 1916 declaration by approving the Treaty of Surrender with Britain and therefore forfeited both legitimacy and support from the IRA (Coogan 1987). Easter 1916 provides the historical legitimacy, the ideology, the heroes and the models of activity for the contemporary republican movement. The ideology, a combination of nationalism and socialism, is derived from and embodied in the persons of Pearse and Connolly. The first a poet and school teacher steeped in Catholicism and the Gaelic revival, invoked the rejuvenating power of a blood sacrifice "the old heart of the earth needed to be warmed with the red wine of the battlefields" (Lee 1991). The second was a socialist, trade union organiser, Marxist political theorist and founder of the Irish Citizen Army. Nevertheless, like Pearse, Connolly could also recognise that "as of mankind before Calvary, it may be truly said

without the shedding of Blood there is no Redemption" (quoted in Kee [1989 p 273]). Pearse and Connolly retain their status as individuals, and as iconic heroes of 1916 have been adopted as models of the revolutionary in action. As such they are retained as the ancestors of the contemporary republican icon, Bobby Sands, who like Connolly went to his death knowing that although he might be certain to fail, his failure would in turn inspire others to take up the challenge (1).

CONTEMPORARY HEROES

The resort to armed rebellion at Easter 1916 is seen as justified by the eventual success in achieving at least a partial self rule in the face of a wavering British support for Home Rule. It is as the inheritor of the republican tradition that the IRA claim themselves justified in continuing the armed struggle. Although a number of paintings emphasise the armed struggle, paramilitary figures are not a dominant image on republican murals. On the Falls Road a gunman in a balaclava representing "Freedom's Sons" and "D Company, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade" stares out from amongst the shields of the four provinces, which are linked by razor wire, the tricolour and the Fianna sunburst. On the South Link in Andersonstown a mural titled "Ireland's Soldiers of Freedom" depicts IRA Volunteers in four different action poses. The emblems of the four provinces form the background, the lark, a harp and a gun are also prominent. At the top of Whiterock Road a single gunman, in a black beret and with a scarf covering his face, stands sentry-like in front of a tricolour. Beside him the slogan reads "Victory to the IRA". Nearby in Westrock Drive three volunteers hold their guns aloft the slogan claiming "Our day will come". Like the paramilitary figures on loyalist murals, IRA Volunteers poses in a landscape of colours and symbols, in which harps, rifles, tricolours, the phoenix and larks are used to legitimise

the campaign of violence. Besides the hunger strikers and the leaders of 1916, few volunteers surmount the anonymity of the balaclava.

The 18th and 19th century figures who are regularly recalled on nationalist banners are absent from wall paintings, but the dead heroes remain an important link in the symbolic chain. Their importance is recalled on the Beechmount Avenue mural (Photo 34), in a quotation from the speech made by Padraig Pearse at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa in Dublin in August 1915 (Dudley Edwards 1977).

The fools the fools the fools!
they have left us our Fenian dead,
and while Ireland holds these graves,
Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.

These words are a counterpart to the loyalist sentiments expressed by Laurence Binyon's words, and emphasise how the memory of dead comrades provide people on both sides with a determination to achieve some form of justification for the loss. In Chamberlain Street, Derry, on the South Link in Andersonstown and in Short Strand, the IRA fire the final graveside salute to a dead comrade. Although based on an image from Bobby Sands funeral, these paintings evoke the deaths of all IRA volunteers. The only deaths commemorated as significant events in their own right are those of eight IRA men killed in an ambush as they tried to bomb a police station in Loughgall Co. Armagh, and three volunteers killed in Gibraltar by the SAS both in 1987. The Loughgall mural in Springhill Avenue depicts six volunteers around a Celtic cross with the names of the eight dead men in Irish (Photo 36). The original painting featured a romantic background of green fields and sunburst sky and assorted symbols but it was repainted in a simpler abstract style after being damaged by paint bombs (see Rolston 1991 for original).

Two murals commemorate the Gibraltar killings. In Unity Flats, a Celtic cross with the words "Remember the Gibraltar Martyrs" stands among flags and emblems, while on the Falls Road, a copy of a memorial in Co.Kerry to volunteers killed in the Civil War portrays a woman, head bowed and holding a baby standing over the body of a dying man. Originally this mural also contained a quote, painted on boards, from Mairead Farrell one of the three volunteers who were killed, "I have always believed we have the legitimate right to take up arms", but this has since been destroyed (Rolston 1991 p 105). These murals do not celebrate the triumph of the collective will to resist and the willingness to risk one's life for comrades and the cause of Ireland. Individual names may be forgotten but the deaths will be remembered and the event commemorated, less as a matter of willing sacrifice than as a martyred victim. This attitude extends to the civilians killed in the Troubles as well. In Derry the 14 victims of Bloody Sunday, when soldiers of the Parachute Regiment fired on a peaceful civil rights demonstration in January 1972, are remembered by individual but nameless paintings on Westland Street in the Bogside close to where the killings took place.

CAMPAIGNING MURALS

The success of the political mobilisation in 1981, which led to first Bobby Sands and then his election agent Owen Carron being elected to Westminster, and Kevin Agnew and Kieron Doherty elected to the Dail, marked the beginnings of the combined "armalite and ballot box" strategy in which the ongoing armed struggle of the IRA was balanced by a sustained political strategy and the rebirth of Sinn Fein as a political force. Murals were used from the beginning as part of the election publicity, and part of the wider political propagandising and mobilisation. On Springfield Road an election mural which survived until recently depicted a British squaddie being hit on the head by a

ballot box under the slogan "Fight Back". In Derry a number of board murals were erected during the 1992 General Election advocating "Vote Sinn Fein". In Springill Avenue, Ballymurphy, a cartoon mural depicted a tricoloured head gagged with a Union Jack, which when removed frees the dove of peace from the mouth of the republican (Photo 36). The caption reads "Oppose Censorship, Vote Richard May". In the Bogside, in Derry, a similar theme depicts a blindfolded head reading the news and the slogan "Many have eyes but cannot see". The campaigning murals turned full circle in 1990 during attempts to prevent republican Dessie Ellis from being extradited from Ireland to Britain for trial, a mural on the Whiterock Road, says "Don't let him die on hunger strike". Ellis was extradited by the Dublin government after a 35 day strike, but was subsequently found not guilty of conspiring to cause explosions and sent back to Ireland.

Murals are also used to focus on and condemn the violence of the security forces. In Derry's Bogside, two paintings commemorate the deaths of Sean Downes and 11 year old Stephen McConomy from plastic bullet wounds. The paintings of the 14 people killed on Bloody Sunday likewise focus on the killing of unarmed civilians by the security forces. In Beechmount Avenue, on a site that has housed a number of images over the past decade, a the face of a Loyalist paramilitary is uncovered to reveal a "Terminator" like robot. Behind the portrait is the Union Jack. On the New Lodge Road a skeletal death figure is draped in a Union Jack and beside it the word "Murderer" has the letters UDR picked out in red, white and blue. As O'Malley (1990) has discussed in relation to the period of the hunger strikes, republicans, as much as any of the other parties involved in the Troubles, make a distinction between "good" and "bad" violence. Each side justifies and sometimes celebrates its own good violence while virulently criticising that of the other side. The British Government

has been engaged since the mid-seventies in trying to represent IRA violence as criminal and terrorist, while the IRA explain their actions in the language of national liberation and anti-colonial struggles. Republican murals go further than those of the loyalists in noting the sacrifices made by their members and the cold bloodedness of the enemy. Whereas for loyalists the enemy is the IRA, which has often been equated with the wider Catholic population, the IRA can sidestep the issue of sectarian violence by representing the enemy as the agents of an oppressive state.

The rhetoric of the Republican murals is broadly similar to loyalist paintings. Both valorise the armed struggle by paramilitary groups, legitimise their tactics and actions by co-opting the history and symbols of both recent and a more distant past. Both imply that truth and justice will be proved through sacrifice, and both emphasise an apparent readiness to continue without compromise. But the use of murals in campaigning and political issues mark a departure from loyalist practice, and attempts to raise the body of work out of the narrow confines of the national struggle and engages with the wider rhetoric of socialism and anti colonialism (see below for a brief discussion of "peace process" murals). Republican mural painting developed out of political graffiti into more formalised displays and this element continues to the present. It means that words and slogans are more prominent on the walls of nationalist areas than in loyalist estates. In some places the boundary between graffiti and mural is hard to judge, in Beechmount the words:

Each dirty trick they laid on thick
For no one heard or saw
Who dares to say in Castlereagh
The "police" won't break the law!

are painted in simple white paint, but are formally laid out as a poem, as are the words accompanying a mural

entitled "An slabhra gan bhrisseadh" (The unbroken chain):

We owe it to them...
To those who have died,
To those whose youth lies
battered against a prison wall
To our unborn children.

Some slogans are formally painted and the words outlined, and although lacking an image have more of the appearance of a mural, as in the case of the "Free Derry" wall. Many paintings incorporate quotations of Padraig Pearse and Bobby Sands with the structure of the image, or use slogans of support for the IRA, in both Irish and English and sometimes both (one wall still bears the Spanish "Venceremos"). Most are dogmatic rhetoric, some rhyme "the people arose in 69, they will do it again at any time, Maggie, Maggie think again, don't let our brave men die in vain", but few are as extensive as the statement which is painted over a Tricolour on New Lodge Road:

The support of our people is obvious in that we could not survive or increase our operations without it. With our support, our weaponry and the calibre of our volunteers and activists, we will win and are set firmly the task of achieving VICTORY. IRA 1990.

The representations of and quotations from Maireed Farrell on murals commemorating Gibraltar is also a reminder that women have a more prominent profile within the republican movement than within loyalist ranks, although the imagery remains overwhelmingly male dominated (Rooney 1995, Ward 1995). I have already noted that Countess Constance Markievicz is included on the murals commemorating the Easter Rising. Although she was not a signatory to the Proclamation (no women signed, although it did promise "equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens" and universal adult suffrage), Markievicz was prominent in the Republican movement, founding the Fianna, the Republican scout movement and designing its sunburst flag

(Curtis 1994). As a lieutenant in the Irish Citizen Army, which had been founded by Connolly in 1913, she fought in the Rising. In 1918 she became the first woman to be elected as an MP to the House of Commons at Westminster when she stood on the Sinn Fein abstentionist ticket (Ward 1983). While Markievicz is the only woman commemorated from this period, some 90 women are estimated to have participated in the Rising. The majority, who were members of Cumann na mBan, the women's wing of the Republican movement, were restricted to support tasks, such as cooking and nursing, but members of the more radical and socialist ICA were permitted more active roles (Ward 1983 p 111).

Mairead Farrell is the most well known of contemporary female IRA volunteers, but the depiction of a female volunteer aiming a gun was used on some early IRA murals and both male and female volunteers who appear on a memorial plaque on Shaws Road, Andersonstown are two examples that give some acknowledgment to the position of women within the contemporary republican tradition. In November 1991 the IRA fired a last salute in front of the mural to the Loughgall volunteers for Patricia Black, a young volunteer who blew herself up in a premature explosion in St Albans (An Phoblacht 21.11.91).

For many years a gable off the Falls Road featured a painting of a female IRA volunteer with a woman member of the PLO and SWAPO. On nearby Waterford Street another painting celebrated "Women against Oppression" and featured nine women representing a variety of ethnic groups, including Native American, Hindu, African, Muslim and South East Asian women. This last was replaced by a painting of a cartoon by Cormac, the Republican News resident cartoonist, in which a woman explained why she supported Sinn Fein. In Derry a mural painted in 1992 on Westland Road depicted two women banging dustbin lids, a practice that was developed in the 1970s to warn of and mobilise

opposition towards security force movements and in 1981 used to mark the death of a hunger striker. It acknowledges not only the role of women, but also the non-militarised areas of the Republican movement, the sea of support necessary to sustain the gunmen.

In the past, murals have drawn comparison between the IRA and other national liberation movements, in particular the PLO and SWAPO, we have already noted the mural to Nelson Mandela and the one to Euskadi (Basque)-Ireland solidarity. Elsewhere Native Americans have featured prominently, used as an example of another indigenous people deprived of their land as a result of British colonisation: in the women's mural mentioned above; in Unity Flats on a painting also depicting Irish, Arabs and Maori under the slogan "Only our river runs free"; in Springhill on a mural to AIM activist Leonard Peltier who was convicted and imprisoned following clashes at the Pine Ridge reservation in 1975 (Moody 1988); and on a large mural overlooking the City Cemetery under the slogan "Our struggle, your struggle".

More recently a solidarity mural painted in August 1992 on Ballymurphy Road, featured James Connolly, Emiliano Zapata, an IRA volunteer and a Chicano militant under the slogan "You can kill the revolutionary but not the revolution" (Photo 35). This mural, painted by Gerard Kelly and a Chicano painter, not only compares the parallel histories of the two countries, but in also being dedicated to the "Irish Martyrs of the San Patricio Brigade" who fought and died in the Mexican War of Independence of 1847, makes an attempt to reclaim a forgotten part of Irish history. In the apex of the gable an Aztec style eagle is superimposed on a phoenix, overlapping symbols as well as histories. At the same time, in Andersonstown, a mural was painted in support of the Basque nationalist movement and in 1993 one to the Catalan people.

THE CELTIC TRADITION

The vast majority of republican murals are grounded in the documented histories of this century, but an increasing number turn to Ireland's Celtic past as further legitimisation of the republican position. A mural in Derry's Rossville Street, has featured the Celtic hero Cuchulainn since 1981, but in recent years he has become more prominent. A mural on North Queen Street, demolished in 1990, featured the dying Cuchulainn, his horse, the bulls from the Tain saga, dolmens and other Celtic animal symbols including swans in a riot of background colours. Swans have a role in Celtic myth as the form taken by people travelling between this world and the "Side", the underworld or fairyworld inhabited by the Tuatha De Danann an earlier race who inhabited Ireland before the Gaels (Rees and Rees 1961). In Springhill Avenue, King Nuada of the Tuatha De Danann is portrayed among dolmen and ogham stones in a mural by Gerard Kelly. This was copied from the work of Jim FitzPatrick, who specialises in mythical Celtic characters, portrayed in a "heavy metal" LP cover style (FitzPatrick 1978). In Armagh, another Kelly painting spread over a gable and two walls of a small extension, depicts the dying Cuchulainn in a romanticised lakefilled landscape with a wolfhound at his feet and a dolmen nearby (Photo 38). In Chamberlain Street, in Derry, (Photo 39), a Celtic warrior and a range of Celtic symbols accompany the (unacknowledged) opening words of Padraig Pearse's poem *Mise Eire* (I am Ireland) in which Ireland personified as a woman recounts both her glory (Cuchulainn) and her shame (betrayal by her family) (Dudley Edwards 1977). Finally, in conjunction with a Celtic cross, which are also used elsewhere on the memorials to the Loughgall and Gibraltar volunteers, a mural on New Lodge Road to "The heroes of 1916" depicts both a volunteer in 1916 uniform and Cuchulainn (Photo 37).

The murals do not mark the first appearance of Cuchulainn into the canon of republican iconography. His statue, sculpted by Oliver Shepherd and cast in bronze, was installed as a memorial to the Easter Rising in the General Post Office in Dublin in 1935 (Turpin 1994). The statue depicts the death of Cuchulainn, which although warned of its approach he faced with martial honour. Having received the fatal wound, he has tied himself to a stake so that he may die on his feet, a crow lands on his shoulder marking his last breath. Most of the subsequent politicised representations of Cuchulainn are copies of this Dublin original, including the sculpted stone centrepiece of the Republican plot in the City Cemetery in Derry and all the mural paintings.

Cuchulainn and Nuada represent the deep history of the Irish martial tradition inherited by the IRA. Although only the New Lodge Road mural directly compares the historical with the mythical within a single painting, the location of many of the Celtic murals make the connections more explicit. Facing the New Lodge Road mural is a painting commemorating the 1981 hunger strikers and next to it another to Volunteer Joe Doherty who was fighting extradition from the USA, until returned to Ireland in 1992. The Springhill painting of Nuada is between the Loughgall memorial and an anti-censorship mural (Photo 36). In conjunction with the Celtic Cross they represent a claim to an ancient history largely ignored in recent years, an attempt to expand their traditions to include more than the rebellious military past, a move into the cultural world of Irish myth and beliefs balanced by the increased role of Irish language within the republican movement. Although Pearse was deeply involved with the Gaelic League and its interests in regenerating the Irish language and culture, the contemporary concerns of the Republican movement have focused more on the practical social and political matters that will lead to self determination. But Irish words,

slogans and designs feature prominently on a number of murals, many street names in the nationalist areas have been changed into Irish or at least become bi-lingual and on Ardoyne Avenue a series of murals celebrate Gaelic sports and Irish music and dancing.

The cultural expressions of Republican identity generated within the prisons included learning and using the Irish language both as a part of a previously neglected heritage, and as a practical tool which permitted communication between prisoners which the warders could not understand. Although the use of Cuchulainn within Republican murals would seem to be a "natural" and obvious step for a political culture legitimating itself through an anti-imperialist struggle of long duree, his latter adoption by loyalists and subsequent appearance on their murals has been more of a surprise although it follows a similar logic of politically structured identity. To understand the contest over Cuchulainn, it is necessary to know something of the story of the Tain Bo Cuailnge.

The Tain tells the story of the attempt of Medb, Queen of Connacht, to borrow the brown bull of Cuailnge (Cooley) for a year, so that her herds will match those of her husband Ailill. Having been refused the loan, Medb and Ailill gather their armies together to ride to Ulster and seize the animal. Because of an old curse the warriors of Ulster were afflicted with labour pains at the time of their greatest difficulty and unable to fight. This which occurs as Medb and Ailill ride north. The only warrior in Ulster not afflicted is Cuchulainn, who is spared because of his supernatural ancestry. Cuchulainn proceeds to harry the Connacht forces and slow them down by challenging their finest warriors in single combat. He defeats all his opponents. Nevertheless, the bull is captured and Medb and Ailill begin their return to Connacht although still confronted by Cuchulainn. Finally, after Cuchulainn has

killed Ferdia, his foster brother in single combat and been severely wounded himself, the men of Ulster are freed from their pains and with the now partially revived Cuchulainn, defeat the Connacht forces at a last great battle. Cuchulainn spares Medb's life and peace is made between the opposing forces (Kinsella 1970). The Tain ends at this point, but another story tells how Medb plots revenge and with the aid of magic is able to draw Cuchulainn out alone to face her armies. He is killed, along with his charioteer and his horse, by a spear, and as he dies he ties himself to a tall stone to die on his feet (Lady Gregory 1902).

The story of the Tain, set sometime in the first centuries after Christ, is thought to have been written down in eighth century AD although the oldest surviving manuscript, Lebor na hUidre (Book of the Dun Cow) dates to the twelfth century. The story continued to be recounted orally and literally to all levels of society throughout the medieval period and into the 17th century (Carney 1987, O'Cuiv 1976), but it received widespread recognition when it was translated and published as part of the Gaelic revival in the late 19th century, and popularised through the versions written by Lady Gregory. The Tain represents the finest and most complete piece of writing among the body of Celtic literature which has survived and Cuchulainn, the most well known of the characters, and his exploits throughout the Tain are an account of Iron Age guerrilla warfare against overwhelming odds and an example of the morality of warfare in Celtic times. It can be seen not only as an example of the Irish cultural heritage, describing in living detail the lives and customs of life in Ireland before the English arrived, but also offers a hero as an example of the skill, courage, bravery and persistence of the Irish fighting men. The spirit of Cuchulainn was invoked by Padraig Pearse in the GPO in 1916, his willingness to meet his fate and his death with bravery have led him to be adopted as a Republican icon.

Loyalists read the Tain differently. Rather than a tale of ritualised combat between Gaelic warriors, it is seen to recount how Ulster was attacked by the other three kingdoms of Ireland. Cuchulainn is usually interpreted as a semi-magical figure with otherworldly ancestry, but Adamson (1991) argues that he should be seen as a member of the pre-Celtic people the Cruthin. Cuchulainn, he says, is described as short and dark compared with the normally tall and fair Celts, and comes from the region of Muirthemne a "well defined Cruthin territory" (1991 p18). The Cruthin retained their identity in the Ulster region but also eventually went into exile into South West Scotland, thereby providing the ancestry of the Scottish settlers who came to Ireland from the 17th century onwards. Rather than a colonisation process it was instead the return of the exiles (Adamson 1974). Cuchulainn represents the first recorded Cruthin defending Ulster from the invading forces of a United Ireland. The nationalist reading of Irish history, in which all Irishness is Celtic, is therefore wrong, the Ulster Protestants are more Irish than the Celts and Ulster has always been a distinct and separate cultural region. Rather than being an Iron Age IRA volunteer, Cuchulainn has been claimed by loyalists as the first UDA man.

Besides Cuchulainn the Ulster Loyalists argue that the early Christian monastic expansion is also substantially the work of members of the Cruthin population and that the Celtic Cross is actually "a symbol of our forgotten past" (New Ulster Defender Vol 1 No 5), however as yet it has not appeared on Loyalist murals. Loyalist and Republican mural paintings began from very different starting positions, one celebrating a 17th century military victory and, the other, a 20th century political campaign, but they have drawn increasingly close together through the central role of the paramilitary forces in using wall paintings as a medium for expressing their political ideologies and trying to

legitimise their respective actions and tactics. They have finally collided on the contested common ground of a 1500 year old mythological warrior.

EPILOGUE: THE CEASEFIRE MURALS.

In the months leading up to, and in the weeks following the two ceasefires, more than 30 murals were painted in loyalist and republican areas of Belfast. Although part of an established and ongoing practice, the images that appeared through 1994 showed significant differences from earlier paintings and the overall focus of loyalist and republican paintings exhibited a greater divergence of emphasis than previously (Photos 41-48). The ceasefires were accompanied by strident statements which re-affirmed respective positions and also by more evocative paintings which condensed complex arguments into readily absorbed images. These paintings were orientated both to local and to a wider (inter)national consumption. They served to reassure local supporters but also conveyed the paramilitary messages to a larger audience.

Perhaps the most widely seen image from late August and September 1994, when the IRA ceasefire was being predicted, then questioned and analyzed, was a republican mural in the Ardoyne (Photo 41). The painting, based on an original design by Robert Ballagh, depicted a file of British soldiers marching down a road which an adjacent signpost indicated led to England. Above this image a banner, decorated with green, white and orange balloons, wished the troops *Slan Abhaile* (safe home) while below it declared "25 Years - Time to go". Similar images under the slogan of "*Slan Abhaile*" appeared on the Whiterock Road, in Andersonstown, Twinbrook and on the back of the Free Derry corner mural. The images of paramilitary gunmen which had

appeared regularly on republican murals in the past were absent from these new murals. The only gunmen now were the British army. The paintings reiterate the broadly stated claim that the army were the problem rather than part of the solution. Another mural on the Whiterock depicts a Cormac cartoon of a white dove carrying a soldier across the Irish Sea. The dove is saying "Time for Peace" while the hapless soldier acknowledges that it is 'Time to Go'. These paintings, and slogans like "25 Years, Time for Peace - Time to Go" stencilled throughout the nationalist areas, convey a sense that the IRA were laying down their arms from a position of strength. Twenty five years of resistance should be enough to convince everyone that the troops must first "Fag as Sraideanna" (leave our streets) and then leave Ireland altogether (Photo 42). The claimed victory is therefore moral rather than military.

Some older murals which celebrated the armed struggle and republican history have also been painted over and replaced with new demands. On the Falls Road "Equality, Freedom and Fraternity" and "dialogue, trust and respect" are among the "Foundation Stones for Lasting Peace" (Photo 43). In Beechmount, the British demand for a republican commitment to a permanent ceasefire has been turned back on the government with a counter demands to end the Unionist veto, disband the RUC, open all roads and release all POW's - "PERMANENTLY". These, the murals state, are among the other essential ingredients for "A Just and Lasting Peace".

Instead of focusing on the IRA the new murals emphasise the broad base of the republican campaign. In Andersonstown, it is the "People of the Shaws Road" who demand an immediate withdrawal of the troops. On the Falls Road "25 years of Resistance" is celebrated by two women defying masked soldiers by banging bin-lids. In St James the "The Spirit of Freedom" is expressed by two silver haired women haranguing a paratrooper. Not only are there no IRA gunmen,

but there is not a single mention of either the IRA or Sinn Fein; instead it is the mundane daily resistance of the people that is being celebrated. The old militaristic language of national liberation struggle has been replaced by a broader celebration of the "culture of resistance" (Scott 1990). This is based on a sense of cultural difference which is in turn emphasised and extended by the widespread use of the Irish language and Celtic style designs within the paintings (Photo 44). This expression culminates in the three elaborate paintings that celebrate aspects of Irish culture in the Ardoyne.

The republican mural painters have turned aside from their traditional symbols and heroes and instead imply that the IRA ceasefire will mark a real break with the past. Although the murals are clear that this potential will only be realised if their actions are reciprocated by the British government, there is no suggestion, or threat of, a return to arms. Instead the paintings suggest that future campaigns will be grounded in the kind of street actions which Sinn Fein have begun to lead and encourage.

In contrast recent loyalist murals remain firmly based on a celebration of the military capacity of the UFF and UVF. Two paintings on the Shankill Road acknowledge the "unconditional surrender" of the IRA, but the majority emphasise the continued readiness of loyalist paramilitaries to "resist any Eire involvement in our country" (Photo 45). This statement on a mural on Snugville Street is backed up by two green clad hooded gunmen, while an adjacent mural depicts a kneeling figure holding a rocket launcher with the caption "UFF Rocket Team On Tour West Belfast 94". The most clearly enunciated positional statement of the UFF was first painted beside a masked gunman on the Newtownards Road mural complex, and it has subsequently appeared at Roden Street and Sandy Row. It states

For as long as one hundred of us remain alive we shall never in any way consent to submit to the rule of the Irish. For it's not for glory we fight but for freedom alone which no man loses but with his life.

The UVF make no such grandiose statements on their three murals which appeared in East Belfast around the time of the ceasefire, although the mural on Woodstock Road (Photo 46) makes the claim that they are "Still Undefeated 1912-1994" (as does the solitary new Red Hand Commando mural at Rathcoole). These UVF paintings are similarly dominated by the established symbols of the organisation and hooded gunmen (although the UVF men prefer black outfits in contrast to the UFF's favoured green). The loyalist paramilitary murals offer no hints of compromise no suggestion of political analysis and no moves away from the rhetoric of the gun. The paintings offer a stark contrast with the expressions of "abject remorse" expressed by the Combined Loyalist Military Command in their ceasefire statement.

Nevertheless there are some significant changes in the imagery. As Bill Rolston noted in "Politics and Painting", during the Troubles loyalist paramilitary imagery has largely relied on either representations of gunmen and/or a limited range of flags and symbols. Besides the emblems of the organisations themselves, the most prominent of these have been the Union Jack and the Ulster flag. However, not one of the 16 loyalist murals painted in 1994 contained either of these two central symbols of Unionism. No flags of any kind appear on the UDA/UFF murals, while the UVF and the Red Hand Commando murals contain only the flags of the respective organisations. The original UDA emblem based on the Ulster cross, still appears on the John McMichael memorial mural at Roden Street, but the new paintings are dominated by a simpler design based on the red, blue and yellow colours of the independent Ulster flag which has become increasingly prominent in many loyalist areas.

Although the moves towards political dialogue generated by the Progressive Unionist Party and the Ulster Democratic Party have not been matched by the loyalist mural painters there are two consistent threads to this new iconography which are shared by all loyalist paramilitary groups. From one side, there is the ready abandonment of the old symbols of Unionism which perhaps implies a greater willingness to consider new ideas, while in contrast the hardlined retrenchment into the comfort of the gun suggests another reality, that of an uncompromising retreat into an Ulster Alone siege mentality.

CHAPTER 14

IN CONCLUSION

This study began by asking how the people of Northern Ireland maintained and expressed their understanding of the past, how a collective or social memory of historical events and past conflicts was created and used to influence and direct activity in the present. Following the work of Paul Connerton, which stressed the importance of the collective involvement in ritual as a way of consolidating or embodying a social memory, I have focused attention on the local custom of holding commemorative parades to mark important anniversaries. But I also tried to move beyond Connerton's rather narrow focus on the performative aspects of ritual and look as well at what else is being conveyed on these occasions through the production and display of paintings on banners and walls. This has involved a consideration of both the form of these events and the production of meaning through the elaborate visual displays.

I.

I began by sketching out something of the history of these practices. Unionists in general and Orangemen in particular lay great store by the concept of tradition with regard to parading practices. Tradition for them implies a sense of permanence, an unchanging deep-rooted custom, a continuity between what is done today and what was done by their forefathers. This sense of tradition is used to legitimise their current expectations of a right to march where and

when they will. The history of parading which I have set out gives some support to this idea of tradition, in so far as it is possible to draw out a more or less continuous practice of holding parades to honour certain anniversaries from the late 17th century until the present. Through this span of time the form of the parade seems to have changed little, many of the essential elements of contemporary parades were already part of the ritual process in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. But in their detail and their meaning, the parades have changed considerably. The contemporary emphasis on tradition tends to ignore these numerous changes and prefers to see parading as a cultural practice that is somehow beyond time. A custom outside the world of politics and social change. However, if parading is undoubtedly a traditional practice, it is also intimately linked with the world of Irish politics. The contemporary parading practices have been shaped by the broader political world but have also been an important element in creating that world. Particularly through the nineteenth century, anniversary commemorations were of major importance in helping to mould the sectarian divide in the north of Ireland and, once established, the parades have been instrumental in perpetuating the divisions. They pass the memory of difference through the generations.

Although much of the historical data was concerned with the parades themselves, I also tried to show how the visual displays were important elements in this process. The early use of flags and building of floral arches began a process of mapping the sectarian divide onto geography in a more permanent manner than the relatively transitory parades could ever achieve. These fixed displays became more prominent and elaborate in the period of the Home Rule crisis, a time which also saw the emergence of extensive professional banner displays. The earlier parades had used the displays to make relatively simple statements of allegiance, but from the end of the nineteenth century they

have been used in a more intensive manner to define the Protestant and Catholic communities in terms of opposing national identities. The images on the banners in particular have been used to flesh out and give substance to these oppositions by locating it in an essentialist and primordial difference. These visual displays were not the only medium used to reformulate these identities, but, in so far as they were an expression of the grass roots attitude they give an insight into the way the polarisation of society into conflicting national identities developed at the bottom as well as the top.

II.

The three other parts of the study then explored these diverse but connected aspects of the tradition to consider how they are currently used by the contemporary unionist and nationalist communities in Northern Ireland. In each case I tried to show how both communities used parades, banners and murals as part of the process of commemoration and how the three media related to one another within each community. While this involved dealing with a lot of empirical data I feel it was important because those few studies that have been made of parades, banners and murals have tended to treat them in isolation rather than consider how they are connected and how they are used to focus, elaborate, challenge or change understandings of collective identity. Although the three media of display all relate to commemorating the past, they are not simply three methods of saying the same thing, in each community differing factions of the community utilise different forms of representation to convey their particular understanding of what it means to be a unionist or a nationalist.

Among the unionists the main commemorations are inclusive events which allow diverse groups to come together and subsume their major differences for a public affirmation of

strength and unity. The Twelfth of July, and the weeks leading up to it, is a time for Protestants to affirm their control over the whole of Northern Ireland. Parade after parade gradually spins a web of connections across the entire six counties and beyond. On the Twelfth itself, a large proportion of the Protestant population take to the streets, men and boys marching, women and girls watching, for the symbolic re-enactment of the battle of the Boyne. The majority of discussions of the unionist parading tradition have focused on the parade itself, the form, the scale and the responses they generate. When any reference is made to the particularity of the material culture of the displays it is to comment on the anachronistic use of symbols of Britishness, the bowler hats, white gloves and Union Jacks. But to understand the importance of the event it is also necessary to consider what is being said and by whom.

Although the performance is central to this process, the major parades are also an annual opportunity to witness the collective display of political and martial heroes, religious leaders, martyrs and saints and to be shown the religious and moral ideals which provide the foundation of faith and identity. The visual displays are used to elaborate on the meaning of the anniversary by situating it within a broader ideological frame. But while the sight of marching men and the sound of banging drums are heard extensively the images are seen only by the faithful. The triumphalist and provocative rhetoric of marching feet too easily masks the complexity of the visual messages.

In the introduction I suggested that visual images had long been recognised as an important factor in the mnemonic process, that they were useful as a means of encoding a broad range of information which they did not overly constrict in interpretation. Images as symbols retain power because of their ambiguity, because of their ability to

convey different things to different people. This is part of the importance of the use of images in the Irish commemorative process, and explains why King Billy can retain a sense of importance to a range of political opinion among the unionists and why Pearse and Connolly can be celebrated by groups as diverse as the Hibernians and Sinn Fein. As symbols it is hard to be precise about their meaning. But, by juxtaposition, by bringing a range of images together, what Barthes refers to as the processes of relay and anchoring may be brought into play. Juxtaposition invites recognition of the connection between seemingly disparate images but it can also be used to focus or anchor the meaning. In use there is always a tension between the potential multivocality of the symbol and the attempt to impute specific meanings at specific places. In part this tension is resolved by making meaning appropriate to the time or place: at the ritual events, where the banner images appear as almost sacred icons revealed only to the faithful, or on the gables of the working class estates where similar images may allude to another form of ethereal or secretive presence. But this closure is always only partial. If in social usage images do not contain endless meanings, they nevertheless retain multiple meanings and therefore their power.

Parades are awash with colour as the lodges and bands display their regalia and emblems. The visual rhetoric of the younger elements on parade has become more prominent over the period of the Troubles, but the main displays on the banners remain under the control of the conservative membership of the Orange Order. The widely quoted speeches give the view of the Orange leadership, but the visual displays give a more democratised view from the ranks. These pictures seem unconcerned with contemporary issues, being mainly restricted to historical or religious themes and as such are used to depict the basic tenets of the Protestant faithful in Ireland. The fact that the images

have hardly changed this century only seems to confirm this sense of permanence. However, when one moves away from an analysis of the banners as singular images, and begins to look at them as a body and in the context of the process of the parade, it becomes clear that they are being used to display a more elaborate text. The celebration and commemoration of past events and heroes aims to guide action in the present and so the recurrent celebration of martial heroes and military victories helps to legitimise and sustain faith in a violent solution to Ulster's problems. The displays at the parades remain relatively coded behind a rhetoric of civil and religious liberty or Biblical authority. Those who have taken the message of history to heart, the paramilitaries of the UDA and UVF, are not very prominent at these parades, although they maintain a surrogate presence within the visual displays of some of the bands. As illegal organisations their displays have largely been restricted to the walls of the working class estates of Belfast where the murals commemorate the fallen paramilitary heroes and their ideals of national identity. However, they use the murals to situate their activities within the broad range of beliefs of the mainstream Protestant ideology. King William remains the anchor on which the paramilitaries justify their actions but the murals move his importance away from the guardianship of civil and religious liberties to refocus on his role as a man who was prepared to fight for his faith.

The nationalist community utilise a similar triad of commemorative practices. These seem in some ways little more than a pale reflection of the larger scale unionist traditions, but just as the Orangemen seem to overcompensate for their feelings of being under siege by parading more intensively, so nationalists have often been restrained by the dominant unionist community from mounting their own displays. Nevertheless, parading is still the core practice for commemorative displays. Although all the

nationalist groups aspire to the same end, a United Ireland, differences over the best way to achieve that aim has meant that each group marks its commemoration independently. The difference in the form between the parades of the constitutional nationalists, the Hibernians and Foresters, and the parades of the republican movement reflects their different history. The nationalist parades draw on the same roots as the Orange tradition although they have increasingly diverged in much of the style with the adoption of American style bands and marching. The republican parades in turn reflect their emergence from the more sombre custom of funeral processions and the more recent tradition of political demonstrations.

These differences are also evident in the visual displays, nationalist banners celebrate the military heroes and battles alongside the religious leaders and saints. By emphasising the form and without reference to the visual displays it would be difficult to distinguish the Orange and Green parades or the parades of the Hibernians from the Foresters. Even the categories of images on the banners are similar, the church and the battlefield forming the two poles around which the collective difference is expressed. Only by considering the details does the ideological gulf between nationalist and unionist become clear. But by looking at the collective displays of the nationalist banners, one can also be more aware of the differences within the community at the same time as one is aware of the common themes that link the conservative and Catholic with the nationalist and then on to the republican elements. Just as the Orange displays reveal the underlying tension between a faith in a Biblical sense of destiny and the need for self reliance, between prayer and the gun, so the nationalist banners also help to justify the recourse to violence, by celebrating the recurrence of rebellion against the British.

Visual displays at republican parades are less prominent, the threat or the reality of violence at these demonstrations in recent years has mitigated against spending large sums of money on relatively fragile artifacts and the banners have been largely ad-hoc affairs. Over the past two or three years more elaborate banners have begun to appear on parades and although these are not on the same scale as those of the other nationalist groups, they have clearly provided the inspiration. Instead, republicans rely on mural painting for their most impressive visual displays. Like their loyalist counterparts, murals provided the opportunity for illegal groups to make prominent public statements about their aims and ideals and the legitimacy of their tactics. Since republicans began to paint murals in the early 1980s, they have expanded the scope of the genre dramatically and they have inspired loyalist paramilitaries to similarly develop their visual rhetoric. At the beginning of the Troubles mural painting was thought to be a dying tradition, in the past 15 years it has been transformed into the most vibrant of practices. Although parades and commemorative anniversaries remain the stimulus for painting or repainting many of the murals, the form has become more widely used as a way of "drawing support" and has also become the most common mass media signifier of the Troubles.

Throughout this study I have tried to illustrate both the distinctiveness of the two broad traditions, nationalist and unionist, the importance of the three component parts, the parades, banners and murals, but also the important connections and shared traditions between the two communities and their commemorative practices. The extensive and repetitive practice of parading and the intensive visual displays associated with them have become the most prominent of the ways and means that the people of the north of Ireland construct their collective memories

but also display their differences. These anniversaries are displays of strength and resolve, they re-affirm territorial identities, confirm boundaries and demonstrate collective rights of way. Most of the time these are symbolic displays but, at times of crisis, the ritual process may be transformed into an open confrontation. Despite this occasional descent into real rather than symbolic violence, the parades themselves are seen by those taking part as being directed inwards rather than attempts to antagonise. They are "part of our culture" rather than "triumphalist coat trailing". They are a time to express solidarity and to declare and display faith by re-playing and remembering the battles or sacrifices of old.

III.

While there is something of a timeless permanence implied in the naming of these communities of difference, or at least a sense of a distinction nourished by hundreds of years of religious divergence, I have tried to show how this has been created within a much shorter period of time. It is only within the past 200 years that the communal polarisations that dominate the contemporary political and social life of the north have become the overriding determinants of identity, and only in the past century have these polarisations become rooted in a conflicting sense of nationality. Protestant and Catholic have been historically the dominant basis for identity but other anchors for non-sectarian collective action have surfaced from time to time. The Volunteers, the Freemasons and trade unions have been most prominent among the social movements that have attempted to counter the sectarian drift. Although these remain underused or ignored at present, they remain as a possible basis for a future reclaimed history of Ireland, and, as a recent study indicated, a substantial proportion of the population of the north are consistently opposed to a narrow sectarian polarity (Boyle and Hadden 1994).

For the time being, however, there remain two dominant collective memories in the north of Ireland, which are expressed by the social identities of Protestant or Catholic. Although the parades are opportunities for displays of unity and expressions of collective strength, this also conceals a multitude of more tightly focused identities which are based on shared experience in particular residential areas, places of work, on variations in political or religious belief, on gender, class and age. Focusing purely on the form of the commemorative process tends to obscure the differing or multiple meanings given to these events by the participants, the visual displays are used to extend meaning while the reliance on images rather than words leaves the meaning open and by extension ensures the complexity and vitality of the event. A detailed consideration of the content of the displays also shows how marginal or minority groups are able to participate in these public displays of unity while retaining some degree of autonomy. I have tried to draw out some of these divisions and alternative perspectives as they are played in public and, while these differences do achieve some form of collective and public expression, it largely remains within the dominant framework structured by the culture of parading. Within the nationalist community political strategy has been a consistent fracture zone, and while the overall demand for a United Ireland remains consistent and strong among all groups, differences over the appropriate tactic have led to the fragmentation of the nationalist body politic. Nevertheless, agreement remains over the key elements of the collective past, the constant stream of warriors and saints who have struggled and sacrificed themselves for faith and fatherland, and who must be commemorated in the most appropriate way. The Unionist community has shown a similar disagreement over the best way to ensure its political desires, to remain part of the United Kingdom, are fulfilled, but while the activities of the loyalist paramilitary groups have been

condemned they have claimed a space within the public displays of strength. And, although relatively small these public displays continue to grow. While the Protestant community has readily broken into small confessional congregations, in political terms it has remained solidly bounded by the threat of betrayal and the feeling of being under siege.

What has emerged from this study is that the nationalist and unionist communities have increasingly come to use a common form, or series, of practices with which to display their apparently contradictory identities. Although the custom of parading with decorated banners is rooted in the 18th century past, and was part of a much wider custom that extended across Britain and Ireland, it has in the late 20th century come to represent one of the constituent features of northern Irish political and social life. The attempt to offer a broad sweep over the comparative commemorative and visual practices has perhaps led to an understatement of the sheer scale of social parading, but given the extent of the material this was probably inevitable. But the scale, visibility and sheer ubiquity of parading is also to an extent contingent on the broader political process. The Troubles themselves have been prominent in expanding the practice of parading, in part to reinforce position, to confirm collective rights and strength, but also by generating events and heroes that needs be incorporated into the commemorative calendar. The emphasis on the traditional parades to mark dates such as 1688, 1690, 1798 and 1916 obscures the fact that this traditional practice is being expanded all the time. Loyalist bands now parade to honour the paramilitary dead, and in support of political demands as well as socially in competitions. Republicans similarly honour their dead and, with increasing weight given to constitutional and non-violent strategies, have returned to the streets en masse to push their demands. The two ceasefires in the autumn of

1994 have fuelled this process rather than cause it to abate. The anniversaries of the ceasefires have in turn become events to commemorate. 1995 witnessed the most violent and confrontational marching season since the beginning of the Troubles, the right to parade and the right not to have to suffer a parade have become key issues of strength for both communities. Increasingly both sides recognise each others rights, witness Sinn Fein's increasing access to the centre of Belfast, which only a few years ago was a no-go zone for any but unionist parades, but each side also seeks to put boundaries on those rights. The right to parade exists but not anywhere, anytime, but no-one can agree on who should have the right to say yea or nay. Simon Harrison has recently argued that among some peoples of Melanesia, violence is not so much a product of antagonistic relations between fixed groups of individuals but rather that it is a constituent part of the creation of those groups:

violence is one of a range of symbolic practices by means of which groups act to constitute themselves within the system of relationships encompassing them (1993 p14).

In Ireland, the custom of parading has been central to the constitution of the antagonist collective communities identified as Protestant and Catholic. As a symbolic practice, predicated on the rhetoric of war, parades have been and remain formative events in the sectarian polarisation of the north. The parade has not simply been an expression of an existing communal identity, so much as part of the practice of constituting difference on which competing identities could be constructed. Over the past 200 years the competing displays of strength have served to reinforce a sense of collective opposition which has now become solidified as "tradition". "Tradition" forms the basis for an insistence of our right to parade freely and the denial of that same right to the other, traditional oppositions that are re-confirmed over and over again each

Marching Season because it is at this time that the collective Other is most visible. Time and again people say "I've got nothing against this individual Catholic or Protestant" or "Some of my best friends are Catholics", but the individual is always the exception, the one that is known from personal contact at work, or sometimes as a neighbour, in contrast one knows the collective Other only from a distance as an indistinct mass of marching men. The parade is the cultural medium for constructing that collective other which at other times is largely invisible.

But while the practice of parading serves to define the collective other, the means by which Protestant/Unionists recognise Catholic/Nationalists and vice versa, the parade is also perhaps distinctive of an emergent specific northern Irish culture, one which is not really British despite the protestations to the contrary and not as singularly Irish as would be desired. It is probably unwise to speculate on the emergence of a distinctive cultural pattern but nearly 400 years of colonisation and sharing the same "narrow ground" and seventy five years of political separation have left their mark on the north of Ireland. For the past 200 years (and for the foreseeable future) it has been, and will remain, the commemorative, celebratory or social parade which has become the distinctive means of displaying faith in the contested (occupied) six counties of Northern Ireland / Ulster.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1) There are a number of names that are used to describe the two parties to the conflict in Northern Ireland: Protestants, Unionists or Loyalist and Catholic, Nationalist or Republican. They are usually treated as paired opposites, ie Protestant : Catholic, Unionist : Nationalist, Loyalist : Republican, in which the labels refer to an increasingly specific and radical political orientation. Protestant and Catholic are the most generalised and apolitical of terms, since it is possible to be a Protestant Republican (like many of the leaders of the United Irishmen in the 18th century) or a Catholic Unionist. While Protestant and Catholic appear to be descriptions of religious affiliation they are more easily understood as a marker of ethnic identity. The terms, unionist or loyalist and nationalist or republican function as markers of political position, and sometimes of class position, within the broader ethnic bloc.

Chapter 2

1). This history draws heavily on newspaper reports and in particular those of the Belfast Newsletter which has published continuously since 1737. Although these must always be treated with some caution, they are no more problematical than many other historically acceptable sources which focus on the conflict and turmoil created by the parades rather than their banal mundanity.

2). I use the term "middle class" to describe those members of Protestant society outside of the state or governmental apparatus. They include the minor Gentry, professionals, shopkeepers, churchmen etc in both urban and rural areas. This was not a homogeneous group but is broadly distinct from the workers and peasantry. The term Protestant is also a problem in so far as it includes members of the Anglican and the Presbyterian churches who for much of the 18th century had distinct identities, the former being more associated with the state, the latter with the lower class colonisation in Ulster. Wolf Tone talked in the 1790s of Ireland being peopled by Protestant, Dissenter and Catholic. Strictly speaking the more homogeneous identity of Protestant was a product of the nineteenth century.

3). The steady increase in the July parades and the continued commemorative sermons each October focused attention more clearly on the Williamite military victories and encouraged feelings of Protestant triumphalism and anti-Catholicism (Barnard 1991). Newspapers rarely indicate how extensive or confrontational the celebrations were during the 18th century, but opposition to William's memory

existed. His statue on College Green was broken and defaced in June 1710, and again in 1714, thereafter it was "often the subject of humiliating treatment; sometimes a scarecrow figure of straw was mounted behind William", in 1798 the sword was wrenched off and the head damaged (Simms 1974) and in 1805 it was found smeared with "tar and filth" (BNL 8-11-1805).

4). In 1744 the Boyne was commemorated in Drogheda, in 1750 the "Protestant Inhabitants" of Newtown Mount Kennedy in County Wicklow "marched under arms to Church" on July 1st before retiring for dinner and toasts, and celebrations are frequently reported from Cork City and Bandon, Co. Cork into the next century (Dublin Courant 30-6/3-7-1744, BNL 6-7-1750, Londonderry Journal 12-7-1774).

5). Performances of Nicholas Rowe's "Tamerlane" were given in Dublin and Belfast until at least 1778 (Barnard 1991, Simms 1974, BNL 3/6-11-1778). In 1758 a ball was held in the Market House in Belfast "to mark the anniversary of His Majesty's birth" and the following year a similar ball was held on the anniversary of Aughrim, with the proceeds to be given "for the benefit of a Poor Family in great distress" (BNL 3-11-1758; 10-7-1759). However dining in like company was a more common attraction. On June 24 1756, 52 members of the Patriot Club of County Down met at Newtown and drank toasts to "the Glorious memory of King William" among many others (BNL 2-7-1756). On July 1 1762 the Belfast Linen-drappers entertained the Earl of Hillsborough to dinner and at Shane's Castle, Co. Antrim, Charles O'Neill "gave an entertainment" to his chief tenants to mark the day (BNL 2-7-1762, 9-7-1762).

6). In Dundalk in 1776 a play in the theatre was broken up by "papists" when an actress sung a song in praise of the Boyne and afterwards a group of protestants were attacked at a tavern which had all its windows broken. The protestants responded by firing at their assailants and wounded six of them as well as killing an innocent passer-by (BNL 9-7-1776).

7). More overt opposition to the state was expressed in the early part of the century by supporters of the Jacobite cause who followed established custom by parading on June 10th, the date of the Jacobite Pretender's birth. In 1724 they processed around St Stephen's Green, led by a woman wearing white and riding a horse; in 1726 they paraded through County Kerry wearing "White Robes and Ribbons"; and in Dublin a riot broke out and 26 people arrested. In 1729 the Lord Mayor of Dublin was forced to issue a proclamation prohibiting "Riotous Meetings and wearing White Roses, or other marks of Distinction" but a number of people still appeared wearing them (Connolly 1992 p 239, FDJ 11-6-1726, 7/10-6-1729, Dublin Courant 5-7-1726). After this burst of activities in the 1720s public displays for the Jacobite cause died out and there is no evidence of substantial

displays of political opposition until the 1770s.

8). Parades were also held to honour St Patrick's day, to mark political successes for the Irish cause in Parliament and military successes by Britain. In Belfast the Volunteer Companies marched in January, March, April, June and July of 1779 and at numerous other venues in Ulster at various dates throughout the year. (BNL 23/26-3, 27/30-4, 27/30-7, 1/5-10 1779).

9). Although the Volunteers were the most prominent users of commemorative parades they were not the only organised group to further this custom at this time. The Freemasons also built on their earlier practices and established an extensive pattern of parades on St John's day, June 24th, in Ulster. There were many connections between the Freemasons and the Volunteers which deserve to be fully explored, but Irish Freemasonry has been largely ignored, notwithstanding recent acknowledgements of its importance because attention has focused on the sectarian nature of politics (Crawford 1993, Smyth 1992, 1993; Stewart 1993). The masons were an important factor in maintaining continuity in popular debate, education and ritual ceremony in the rural areas. Their contribution to popular culture will be considered in the next chapter.

10). Volunteer parades also had a strong social element to them. The Belfast Newsletter rarely failed to mention the uniforms of the various companies: Belfast and Londonderry for example wore scarlet and black, while Lisburn scarlet with green trims (BNL 26/30-5, 2/5-6, 30-6/3-7 1778). Rogers (1934 p49) claims that by 1780 Volunteering had become a fashionable activity for young gentlemen and drills and parades were enthusiastically attended, while a "vast concourse" of spectators, both male and female, were attracted onto the streets to watch. A report from Wexford (BNL 21/25-8-1778) states almost every gentleman in town had joined the Volunteers and even the "lower classes of protestants" had formed a company in imitation but "apparently without uniforms however". Of the more than 300 companies in existence by 1782 the vast majority wore a predominantly scarlet uniform, the conventional colour of the British infantrymen, 5 had green uniforms and only 19 wore blue. At a time when the regular army in Ireland was regarded as a disorderly rabble and when Irishmen, both Protestant and Catholics, were largely excluded from the force (Bartlett 1990), the Volunteers were attempting to present themselves as bone fide soldiers and at the same time confirm their loyalty to the crown. But there is also a strong impression that there was a more general concern to be smart and fashionable and to impress watching admirers.

A report from Dublin advises of a meeting to form a Volunteer Regiment of light cavalry "the horses are, it is said, to be large sized bay hunters, and the uniforms a

light green faced with white with silver laced button holes and epaulets" (BNL 23/27-7-1779). The act of display was clearly important for here the constituent parts of the public image had been decided before the body even existed and the uniforms were obviously meant to attract the membership.

In August 1778 the BNL (4/7-8) carried a short item from Bridgetown, Co.Wexford recording how "The very ladies are in uniform; and in this town every woman has a scarlet gown, edged with green, green petticoat and green stomacher and apron to match regimentals which are scarlet faced with green and buff waistcoats and breeches edged with green." A notice in the BNL of January 25th 1779 advertised the availability of Volunteer buttons and in July the following year there were adverts for all manner of uniforms and accessories including such items as "scarlet, blue and white cloth, Gold and Silver Epaulets, Military Hats, Gold and Silver Trimmings, White-thread stockings, Neat Short Garters, Black Hair or Velvet Stocks and all other articles" that might be necessary for the fashionable paramilitary, other adverts offer Light Infantry caps "cheap to Volunteers taking a quantity" and also stain removal services for scarlet uniforms (BNL 4-7-1780). A letter to the Londonderry Journal, June 25 1779 refers to "Our cloud-cap't grenadiers and our gorgeous infantry....(who) after the amusement of a year....(are) satisfied with a fine coat and a firelock" (quoted in Smyth 1979 p 115). Volunteering then was not solely about serious matters like civil defence and politics but also incorporated an important feature of male display, parading as a form and means of showing-off, a chance for young gentlemen to flaunt themselves in the streets as well as play at soldiers.

Chapter 3

1) The Northern Star while noting that the colours "were new and costly" also expressed surprise that "this banditti, who have hunted upwards of 700 families from their homes" should be permitted "to parade in open day, under banners bearing the King's effigy, and sanctioned by the magistrates!!" (11/15-7-1796). The next edition includes a letter from an eyewitness which describes the Orangemen as a "motley group of Turncoats, Methodists, Seceders and Highchurchmen" while continuing that "the Orange cockade denoted, as I was informed, such as had taken the Orange oath...the blue denotes the Freemasons...The Orange and blue intertwined are a hardy race, the mongrel gets of Church and State, who...think it no crime to plunge the mid-night dagger in the bosom of a BROTHER" (NS 15/18-7-1796).

2). Belfast was not an important centre for the Orange Order in the first half of the 19th century and by 1851 had only 1,333 members, in a town whose population had now

reached over 87,000 people (Budge and O'Leary 1973, Patterson 1980). Nevertheless, the Order was an important influence in accentuating sectarian clashes within the growing working class areas, and disturbances had regularly followed Twelfth parades since the 1820s. After the mid-1830s parades were rare: Belfast Freemasons did not parade after 1836 and formal St Patrick's day procession were also a rarity, but in 1846, 1,500 Orangemen paraded through the town before taking the train to Lisburn. Some scuffles followed their arrival back in the town in the evening.

3). Since it is difficult to judge how accurate these crowd figures are, I am simply repeating newspaper numbers.

4). The practice of decorating the streets and buildings had been reported in 1763 during the Oakboy rising, at Castleblaney, Co. Monaghan "every creature - man, woman, and child - had oak boughs up and also at the doors" (Coote 1763 quoted in Donnelly, 1981) and orange lilies were used in Dublin as early as 1750 (BNL 6-11-1750). But the displays in the 1820s seem more elaborate and more extensive, and at the same time these earliest reports suggest that the displays were already an established feature of the day.

5). The problem with interpreting the Ribbonmen is that they have left little in the way of either material or documentary remains. Apart from reports of their violent public displays, their ceremonial and ritual is largely restricted to oaths of membership (Carleton 1968). But newspaper reports do give some indication of their position within the tradition of popular displays. At Garvagh in 1813 the 1,500 Ribbonmen were described as "decorated with distinguishing badge of a white handkerchief tied round the middle of the body" (BNL 3-8-1813). At Crebilly, in 1819 witnesses reported that 500 of them paraded in rank and file, two and three deep, and were led by a fife player and a man on horseback with a white feather in his hat (BNL 9-7-1819; Irishman, 24-3-1820). And at Drum, in 1823, apart from the white handkerchief they wore "white ribands as badges to distinguish themselves by" and had "a musician at their head and march(ed) in regular order" (BNL 8-7-1823). White had been used as an identifying colour by peasant bands as far back as the Houghers in Connacht in 1713; it was also worn by of the Jacobite supporters in Ireland and used by the Defenders in 1798. By the 1820s one might expect white to have been as readily recognised as an emblem of radical Catholic groups as orange had become identified with the protestants (Connolly 1987, 1992, Kee 1989a).

6). Dublin Castle had sought to promote St Patrick as a national and non-sectarian patron and the Belfast volunteers paraded on March 17th through the 1780s, but the date is not recorded as a public celebration for another

twenty years. In 1806 the Belfast Harp Society was founded on St Patrick's day (Hewitt 1951) and when in 1809 they met for their annual dinner on March 17th the room was decorated with "transparencies representing St Patrick in his robes and crozier, and an allegorical figure of Hibernia, with her appropriate emblems...in the centre of the room was suspended an ancient Irish harp, decorated with garlands of shamrocks" (BNL 21-3-1809). This is the first record of the conjoining of these two figures, which has subsequently remained prominent in nationalist iconography to this day. The report illustrates how rapidly the popular commemorations had become polarised in the 30 years since the Volunteers paraded with both King Billy and Hibernia on their banners.

7). It is a widely held view that the era of the United Irishmen, in the 1790s, was the last time that Protestants and Catholics combined in common cause. Events of the 19th century are seen as played out by two opposing sides: Catholics fighting for political emancipation, repeal of the Act of Union, land reform and national independence, while the Protestant Ascendancy class and the British Government attempted to stem the tide of demands for change and maintain control of the country. From this perspective the rebellions of 1798 and 1803 had forced people to take sides, with little or no room for common cause. This is exemplified by the increasingly antagonistic sectarianism of County Armagh and adjacent areas. But while it is clear that Ribbon Societies and Orangemen were important elements of lower class public society, so too were the Freemasons. The Freemasons have been almost completely neglected in the desire to focus on (a) the root causes of sectarian politics, (b) endemic, popular violence or (c) national ie middle class, politics. This is not the place to explore the full importance of Freemasonry in Ireland, but as Smyth (1992 p86) acknowledges, it is worth more than a footnote in Irish history.

8). Reports give little information of the Masonic insignia displayed on parade, but a number of early 19th century banners have survived. These exhibit a wide range of sizes, colours and construction techniques (painted, embroidered, applique) but they all carry broadly the same image: the arch of brotherhood surrounded by the symbols of the Craft (Lepper and Crossle 1925, Simpson 1924, 1926). Many of these symbols, the beehive, cockerel, three rung ladder, snake, ark of the covenant etc had also appeared on the previously mentioned Orange poster of 1798 (in Armagh) and are prominent on Royal Black Institution regalia. Any overlap with Ribbon insignia is unknown, because there are no contemporary descriptions and virtually no material remains. However, at Masonic parades the Lodge Master wore a red cloak and the High Priest a white one, and both were colours that had been regularly associated with the Catholic Defenders. In 1828 a Masonic parade was attacked by a group of Protestants at Galgorm because the leader

wore a "white cloak ornamented with green crosses" and he was therefore assumed to be both a Catholic and a Ribbonman (BNL 27-6-1828). From this fragmentary evidence one might speculate that while the Freemasons attempted to maintain the non-sectarian middle ground, the polarising forces within society drew freely on the longstanding and accepted Masonic practices and ideology while establishing contrasting positions.

9). In Derry the formation of the No Surrender club in 1824, marked the return of control of the siege celebrations to the populist Apprentice Boys (Doak 1978).

10). In July 1835 "an arch had been erected by the Orange party on the previous evening ...a green arch was thrown across Sandy-row (in Belfast), which in a severe conflict had been torn down by the Orangemen" a riot ensued with many of the military being severely injured and a woman Ann Moore, killed by a gunshot, the Orangemen were considered to blame because the Catholics had been prepared to remove their arch while the Orangemen would not (Barrow 1836 p34). A newspaper report of the same incident says that the military were "repelled" with several men badly injured when they attempted to remove the orange arch (BNL 14-7-1835). The following year arches were quickly removed from Sandy Row, as they were in Ballymacarrett in 1837 "though not without some opposition" (NW 13-7) and in 1838 the erection of an arch in Magherafelt "attached to a tree at the end of the police barracks" provoked clashes with Roman Catholics the next day (NW 16-7).

Chapter 4

1). In Derry with, its high proportion of Catholics, parades often provoked clashes. The rise of the Land League in 1877 raised tensions, and violence followed the celebrations in August 1877 and March 1878. This pattern continued intermittently over the next few years. St Patrick's day in 1882 attracted a crowd of over 15,000 people carrying banners portraying the Pope and St Patrick alongside Parnell, Davitt and Dillon. The next year relations between the two sides further deteriorated and the December celebrations were banned when Nationalists announced a counter demonstration to clash with the Closing of the Gates commemorations. The Orange Order in turn retaliated the following March, causing a major Land League rally to be cancelled. After 1886 a period of stalemate was reached, Our Lady's day parades were no longer held in the city and St Patrick's day parades were only held regularly between 1895 and 1901. Further violent clashes during this time provoked the disapproval of the Roman Catholic church and apart from one parade in 1905 organised jointly by the AOH, INF and the United Irish League, the celebrations seem to have been quietly abandoned. However loyalist parades continued in both August and December, and although these were generally peaceful, the population of the Bogside

often expressed their opposition by setting fires in their chimneys to send clouds of soot and smoke over the city. The struggle for rights of way on anniversary days in Derry and elsewhere in Ulster, paralleled the attempts by the Nationalists to translate their numerical superiority in parts of the province into political representation. In Derry parliamentary seats changed hands regularly but no changes were made to the local franchises or ward boundaries until 1896 when Nationalists finally won 16 out of the 40 municipal seats. However the Unionists still retained control of the council and continued to do so until partition.

2). At one of Daniel O'Connell's Repeal meetings at Dundalk in 1843 there was an arch of decorated with green foliage "or rather there were three triumphal arches connected together a central and two side arches. That to the right was dedicated to Queen Victoria...that to the left was for Prince Albert...the largest...was for O'Connell, and upon it...the words 'the Moses of Ireland, who has broken the strength of our enemies, welcome to Dundalk'" (Venedey 1843 pp84-5). Presumably these elaborate arches were more substantial structures than the suspension arches that were commonly erected, but we are given little insight into their construction.

3). An arch erected in Belfast High Street for the visit of Queen Victoria was made of wood, painted to imitate marble and decorated with a crown of "evergreens and flowers and bore the words "Cead mille failte" and "God save the Queen" in dahlias (BNL 14-8-1849) but this was probably meant to survive for longer than the orange arches which still seem to have been erected on the evening of the 11th and been removed early on the 13th at the latest. There is no evidence to suggest that the arches were made as reusable structures at this stage.

4). Very little regalia or detailed descriptions of regalia survive from before the end of the 19th century, and those that have survived, exhibit a much wider range of sizes and styles than modern banners. Most lodges carried regalia that was made at home rather than professionally, and decoration was done with embroidery or applique rather than painting, employing female skills rather than male. The size of the regalia also varied enormously, from single pole flags to two pole banners comparable to contemporary banners. Some, such as the flag carried by Rathfriland Orangemen carried at Dolly's Brae in 1849, now in the Orange Museum in Loughgall, were only a metre square, similar in size and style to military flags, made of plain white cloth with a simple applique design featuring a square and compass within an arch. The bannerette of the Kirkiston True Blues from the Upper Ards area made in the 1860s contained "signs, numbers and a mural of King William all made up and sewn in linen thread". Their next banner dated to around 1884 was also home made and took the form

of an arch measuring only 42" by 30", with King Billy portrayed between the two pillars (Upper Ards 1990 p 29). But from the middle of the century some banners were approaching contemporary size and style. The banner of Sandy Row Heroes from c1868 was of this type with a three foot square central image depicting "The Secret of England's Greatness" surrounded by an 18" border (photograph in the House of Orange, Belfast). Some were even bigger but few will have matched the banner of the Cookstown True Blues No 459 carried through the town in 1874 and which was reportedly "borne by ten men (and) attracted universal attention" (BNL 16-7-1874).

5). It is also interesting to see how and when these changes were implemented by specific lodges and by lodges in the rural areas of Ulster. Accurate data on such matters as the effects that standardisation and professionalisation had on particular lodges is not available from the generally published information, being largely restricted to the minute books of individual lodges, and records are fragmentary and information on the images themselves haphazard. However, for the Tercentenary of the Battle of the Boyne in 1990 the Orange Lodges from East Down published "An Historical Account of Orangeism in Lecale District No2 Co.Down" compiled from the minute books of 21 lodges in the area, some of whom had been in continuous existence since 1798. This provides some details of the changes and developments of the banners of a group of geographically connected lodges in this particular period, and gives more detailed information on such matters as continuity and change of images as banners are replaced.

The earliest references are to flags, Hollymount LOL 1465 records carrying Orange flags "as early as 1840" (p88), Killyleagh True Blues LOL 549 spent £1 2s 9d on materials to make a flag in 1867 and £2 7s 1d to make another one in 1870. In 1884 they bought a flag from N. Dane of Belfast which seems to have lasted until 1925 when £34 of the profits of a bazaar were spent on a banner. Further banners were unfurled in 1950 and 1978. The J A McConnell Memorial, Downpatrick LOL 431 unfurled a new flag in July 1896 described as "a copy of flags carried by the Army of the time. It was 3' by 3'6" in size, made of blue silk, with a small Union Flag in one corner and a gold bullion fringe....it was sent to the firm of Mr Thomas Stevens, in Coventry, to be embroidered with a wreath of Orange Lillies, enclosing the figures '431', with a scroll, top and bottom, with the words "Downpatrick Orange Lodge" (p 48). Other flags of this period seem to be more like contemporary banners in style, Ballygawley LOL 1898 bought a flag in 1892 for £6, with a portrait of King William on one side and the "Secret of England's Greatness" on the other and Woodgrange LOL 1073 purchased a flag in 1895 for £3 12s 6d, which was blue with an orange fringe which depicted King William crossing the Boyne on one side and a Crown and Bible on the reverse (p 69). Although the

District bought its first banner in 1891, none of the individual Lecale District lodges record buying banners before the turn of the century, Ballygawley bought one in 1901, Woodgrange in 1903 and Ballyclander LOL 1563 in 1905; John Irvine Memorial, Ballydonnell LOL 1446 laid their flag to rest in 1902 when it was used to cover the coffin at the funeral of William Johnston, District Master for 45 years and one of the most notable Orange figures of the nineteenth century. For many lodges their flags lasted much longer, Cumberland True Blues of Crossgar LOL 358 only bought their first banner in 1924, Inch LOL 430 and Ballykilbeg LOL 1040 not until 1932, with the last named recording that until then they always marched with flags (p 62).

Most lodges have bought three or four banners this century, Ballygawley, the first in the area to buy a banner, unfurled new banners in 1901, 1917, 1952 and 1975; Woodgrange had new banners in 1903, 1938 and 1968; Killyleagh True Blues in 1909, 1934, 1950 and 1978; Rathmullen LOL 360 in 1930, 1968 and 1985; and Toye Purple Banner LOL 1077 in 1921, 1934 and 1972. Some of these seem to have lasted little more than twelve years but many lasted much longer, and twenty five to thirty years is not uncommon. The banner bought by Ballyculter in 1911 from Bridgetts for \$20 6s was not replaced until 1953, and that bought by Killyleagh True Blues in 1925 was later "presented to a newly formed Lodge, LOL 1688 which met in the House Of Commons" (p 59) when Killyleagh unfurled their new one in 1950.1).

6). In 1909 the Northern Whig correspondent at the Twelfth parade in Belfast emphasised these changes in the banner designs "The obverse of the banner...in most cases retain the old time custom of immortalising the name and features of some champion of Protestantism, living or dead, local or national...The half dozen designs that used to be the beginning and end of the reverse of the banners are no longer recognised as limiting selection and hundreds of Biblical and historical episodes are open to the banner painter now to choose from (NW 13-7-1909).

7). Although Henderson, a house painter by trade, fits within the category of skilled artisans whom Loftus has suggested were responsible for developing this form, at least one King Billy mural on the Albertbridge Road, was "capitally painted...by a lad of fifteen years of age", indicating that even from the early days it was taken up as a popular rather than specialist medium for display (NW 13-7-1914).

8). The paper also noted the number of ABOD clubs who were now carrying bannerettes to increase the visibility of the displays, "There had been a tradition of flags only for Apprentice Boys parades, but these...require a breeze for effective display. Some clubs have compromised by carrying

bannerettes" (BNL 15-8-1960).

Chapter 5.

1). The small Independent Orange Order also organises a parade on the Twelfth.

2). In 1912, the Ulster Unionists raised a 100,000 strong paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force to oppose government proposals for Home Rule for Ireland, and in 1914 the Unionist leaders Carson and Craig offered the Ulster Volunteers to the British army, and as the 36th Ulster Division they went off to fight for King and Country. On July 1 1916, the first day of the battle of the Somme, an estimated 5,500 Ulstermen were killed or wounded in France. Although many thousand more were to die at numerous other battles before the war ended, it was the carnage of this single day that was seared into popular consciousness and came to symbolise the depth of Protestant loyalty to Britain. When Home Rule came to be renegotiated at the end of the war, the six counties of Ulster, the largest geographical area that could be guaranteed a Protestant majority, was excluded and retained its status as a part of the United Kingdom.

3). Numerous church parades are held by the loyal orders throughout the marching season. Some are district parades, on other occasions all the Belfast districts assemble for a common service. These parades attract little public attention, they are usually small in number and, with no banners and few bands, have none of the colour of the mini-Twelfth or major commemorations.

4). The Burdge Memorial Standards, manufactured at the Royal School of Needlework, were dedicated in 1963. They consist of a Union Flag, and the orange and purple flags of the Institution. They are named after Harry Burdge, former County Grand Secretary of the Belfast County Lodge who died in 1960.

Chapter 6

1). This issue came to a head in 1995 when parades became a major political issue with an as yet unresolved series of conflict areas occurring over parade routes in Belfast, Portadown and Derry. A detailed consideration is beyond the scope of this study, although one detail is worth noting. In an opinion poll carried out for the Irish News, 63% of Protestants thought loyalist organisations should have the right to march through nationalist areas while only 41% thought republican organisations should have the right to parade through unionist areas. Only 15% of Catholics thought loyalists should be able to go through nationalist areas and 18% thought republican should have the right to go through unionist areas (IN 23-8-95).

2). The Garvaghy Road church parade was the occasion of a major confrontation and stand-off between Orangemen and the RUC from Sunday July 9 to Tuesday July 11 1995. Eventually the Portadown Orangemen were permitted to parade the route in spite of the continued protests of the residents.

Chapter 7

1). An example from the summer of 1995 illustrates this segregation. A planned Sinn Fein parade and rally through the centre of Lurgan was stopped by loyalist protesters. The Sunday World reported that "loyalists are adamant that the republican marchers will not be permitted to go beyond the traditional 'back of the church' demarcation line for nationalist marches in Market Street" (30-7-95).

Chapter 8

1). Two of the most respected banner painters, Tommy Robinson in Belfast and John Jordan in Cookstown, work by themselves, but with family assistance, from workshops adjacent to their homes. A number of other banner painters advertise their trade but neither Robinson or Jordan advertise for work but rather prefer to attract new jobs by word of mouth and reputation. Tommy Robinson began by working at Bridgett's. He is a member of the Orange Order and by choice only paints banners for the Loyal orders. Although he will paint the odd Trade Union banner if he has the time, generally he has sufficient work from the Ulster groups. John Jordan on the other hand belongs to no organisation and will paint for both Loyalist and Nationalist groups and has on occasion lost Loyalist commissions because of this. Jordan trained as a signwriter before taking over a business from his father who still helps out on the banners, he considers his banner painting work to fall within the wider sphere of commercial art and as such he undertakes a wide range of work including portrait painting and signwriting.

2). Besides the banners many flags are carried on parade. The Orange Order stipulates which flags are acceptable, these are:

- 1) Union Flag.
- 2) Recognised flags of the four countries of the UK.
- 3) Cross of St Patrick.
- 4) Flags of overseas jurisdictions.
- 5) Lodge flags, banners and bannerettes.
- 6) Orange Standard.
- 7) Band flags and bannerettes.
- 8) Flags issued for approved anniversaries.

At all loyalist events vast numbers of Union flags, Ulster flags, Orange Standards, as well as flags invoking the name and campaigns of the UVF and YCV are visible. These are carried by private, District and County lodges and also by the bands. The flags of the four provinces of Ireland and

the Irish tricolour are always carried at all Nationalist and Republican parades, the AOH also carry the yellow and white Papal flag while Sinn Fein parade the Starry Plough of James Connolly's Citizen Army For detailed discussion of flags in Irish public and political life see Hayes-McCoy (1979) and Bryson and McCartney (1994). For recent local developments see Irish Vexillology Newsletter No 1 September 1984, early issues of the Irish Patriot (nd) and BNL 29-9-1989.

3). Bessbrook was founded in 1847 by John Grubb Richardson as one of the first "model villages" in the British Isles and was "planned with a blend of Quaker zeal and architectural skill to provide a garden village community" for workers in his linen mills (Connolly 1981). At partition despite the overwhelmingly Catholic population in the area, all the local business interests advocated keeping Bessbrook as part of the northern statelet. Despite low wages profits steadily declined in the 20th century and the last linen production in Bessbrook ceased in 1986 (Canavan 1989).

4). This has become something of an anthem for Ulster Protestants, since it was sung at the occasion of the signing of the Ulster Covenant to oppose Home Rule in Belfast in September 1912 (Kee 1989b p180).

5). A similar painting has been identified by Loftus (1990 p27) as Patrick Sarsfield, but Sarsfield is usually depicted, on both AOH and INF banners, in realistic 17th century period dress, as a mirror of the Orange King William image. However, a 19th century membership card of the Repeal Association carries a portrait of Hugh O'Neill, gaelic Earl of Tyrone wearing a similar helmet to the AOH warrior and this seems a more plausible identity (Sheehy 1980 p28). In Toome the figure was referred to as a "traditional" Hibernian design.

6). The memorial remains the only commemoration in the north, outside of a cemetery, to the events of 1798. It was restored after being blown up in January 1969 the day before the Peoples Democracy Belfast-Derry march arrived in Toome (Purdie 1990).

7). In 1798 the Belfast Newsletter carried a report of the presentation of a banner to the Yeomanry Corps of the Fort Edward Cavalry, County Tyrone. This presentation concluded with a speech which finishes "as soldiers, you will assist under this banner, in defending the best of Kings, and our excellent constitution established in the Protestant Line, by our great Deliverer King William the Third, and now secured to us in the North of Ireland, it is to be hoped for ever, by the spirit and loyalty of Orange Men (BNL 20-7-1798). Although this report indicates that formal ceremonies to mark the arrival of a new banner were an established custom among Irish military and militia corps,

there is no report of a similar practice among the loyal orders for over 100 years.

8). Banners are not the only objects in the parading regalia which are subject to a ceremonial acceptance. At the Royal Black Institution demonstration at Scarva on July 13 1992 a new set of white cuffs were presented for the officers of the Armagh District preceptories, thanks were given, a prayer offered and a blessing made on the cuffs as they were formally dedicated and accepted as part of the official parading uniform. At Derry on December 12 1992, prior to the commemoration of the Closing of the Gates, there was a ceremony to mark the unveiling of the reconstructed statue of Governor George Walker, who led resistance during the Siege of Derry in 1688-9 and the rebuilt plinth on which it had stood before it was blown up by the IRA in 1973. As well as the cutting of ribbons and speeches of thanks, common to all such openings, there were prayers of dedication and the offering of thanks to God for the successful outcome of the siege and the survival of Protestantism. After the dedication the hymn "O God our help in ages past" was sung before closing prayers and the National Anthem. Unlike the banner dedications this was a purely local affair, only local officers and churchmen officiated and the event was only attended by local members of the Apprentice Boys even though many members had come to Derry for the main day long commemoration. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out in the morning before the main round of parades had begun and while visitors were still outside the city walls.

9). Gorman (1986 p 139, 174) records religious dedications of Trade Union banners, but his examples are similarly after 1945. The banner unfurling ceremony for the Northampton County Committee of the National Union of Agricultural Workers took place inside All Saints Church, Northampton in 1948. Taken into the church still furled, the banner was unfurled during the singing of the hymn "Fight the Good Fight" and dedicated upon the altar by the vicar "as a symbol of loyalty to God and our fellow men" before being "carried to the market place for it's first public meeting" (Gorman 1986 p139). He also records that the Sussex District banner of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, which is now displayed permanently in Chichester Cathedral, was dedicated by the Bishop of Chichester in 1968 (Gorman 1986 p174).

10). Although banners are sometimes passed on to other lodges, some features will be changed, ie the name and warrant number, so that the banner is effectively remade.

11). Sometimes temporary additions are made to banners: black ribbons signify a recently deceased member, the slogan "No Dublin Interference" was hung from many banners in the 1990s in opposition to the growing rapprochement between London and Dublin.

Chapter 9

1). Many of the images considered below also appear on banners of the Apprentice Boys of Derry and the Junior Orange Order. These will not be considered in any detail but some information is given in Appendix 3.

2). In earlier periods there seems to be less concern over such a matter, a flag in the National Museum of Ireland probably belonging to the Cork Yeomanry corps and dated to c1800 bears an embroidered centrepiece of King William on a black horse (Hayes-McCoy 1979 p108). Elsewhere three plates, probably from the early 19th century, in the Loughgall Museum depict William, in what Loftus (1990 p22) calls a "dumpy squire" style, on a dark horse.

3). The Siege of Derry is commemorated by the Apprentice Boys in August and December, the anniversary of Enniskillen, or the Battle of Newtownbutler as it is called in the history books, is paraded by the County Fermanagh Black Institution each August. But the battle of Aughrim which was the deciding battle of the campaign is largely ignored the anniversary is unmarked in any way.

4). Besides carrying paramilitary regalia, some bands commemorate individual loyalist paramilitaries on their bass drum and in their name. There are also parades to commemorate the anniversary of dead paramilitary figures, and wreaths are laid at their memorials.

Chapter 10

1) Recently loyalists have begun to reappraise their position with regard to the Celts and through the work of Ian Adamson (1974, 1982, 1991) have argued for their own primordial position in Ireland. A part of this has been to claim St Patrick as their own, see Adamson 1979 and regular articles in the UDA journal Ulster (Jan 1979, March 1986, March 1987)

2) The dark blue flag of the Loyal Ballyshannon Volunteers depicted Hibernia (Erin) with her arms resting on a harp and bordered by oakleaves and shamrocks, while the red flag of the Caledon Volunteers portrayed her in a toga leaning on harp while holding a pike topped by a Liberty cap (Hayes-McCoy 1979 pp92-93).

Chapter 11

1). The paintings, ascribed to Bobby Jackson, was finally demolished in 1994-5, giving way to a new primary school. However a new wall, facing the Jackson household was made available and some funding provided for replacement paintings on board to be made and erected as a memorial to Bobby Jackson and unveiled on August 11 1995. The new paintings were done by Jackson's son Robert who was

actually responsible for much of the work on the original paintings (Pers. Comm. Robert Jackson).

2). The tension between political and non-political paintings can be illustrated by the example of Tommy Kelly, who painted a series of nostalgic murals in both nationalist and loyalist areas of Derry. However, when he accepted a request to paint a mural commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Battle of the Bogside "the phone for cross-community work simply stopped ringing" (Regan 1995 p8).

3). This pattern of sectarianisation of residential space goes back to the mid-nineteenth century and the rapid growth of urban areas. In the early nineteenth century Belfast was overwhelmingly Protestant, with the small Catholic population confined to the western edges of the town. Industrialisation led to a rapid growth of the city and by the end of the 19th century Catholics had come to compose one third of the total population. Rioting between members of the Protestant and Catholic working class frequently followed commemorative parades, elections and other public events and these helped to consolidate patterns of residential segregation based on faith (Bardon 1982, Boyd 1987, Goldring 1991). When the Troubles began in 1969 an estimated 56% of Catholics and 69% of Protestants lived in streets containing 90% of people of similar faith (Boal 1982 p 252), the continuing violence of the past 24 years has only served to strengthened this pattern of segregated communities (Jarman 1993).

Chapter 12

1). Examples of loyalist murals can also be found in the Fountain and Waterside areas of the city of Derry, in Antrim, Ballymena, Connor and Larne, Co.Antrim, Desertmartin and Upperlands, Co.Londonderry and Portadown, Co.Armagh.

2). The UDF emblem appears on many UDA murals, but otherwise appears not to have any formal existence, in July 1986 the UDA journal "Ulster" reported that the UDF, "formed in 1982...and were...a well trained force which many believe is being held in readiness for a potential Doomsday situation in Ulster".

3). This mural was painted out in June 1995 and replaced by a new UVF image.

4). After the loyalist paramilitary ceasefire in October 1994 it was from the Shankill that the most virulent critique of middle class unionism emerged (see Island 1994, 1995). Specifically this working class challenge was expressed by the Progressive Unionist Party, who were "reputed to have an insight into the thinking of the UVF" to use the coy phraseology of the time. The problem for the

PUP and the UDP was how to reconcile their class based rhetoric with the reality of paramilitary history and the sectarian nature of the Ulster state (see the letters in An Phoblacht through June and July 1995 for a Republican critique of this position).

Chapter 13

1). A similar image painted to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the hunger strike appears on Meenaleck Walk in Derry's Shantallow estate; on Lenadoon Walk a defiant silhouetted prisoner raises a clenched fist above the prison outline; on Whiterock Road two unarmed IRA Volunteers stand guard besides a memorial cross, and two lists name not only the 1981 hunger strikers but also commemorate IRA Volunteers Frank Stagg and Michael Gaughan who died on hunger strike in prison in England in 1976.

APPENDIX 1

ORANGE INSTITUTION PARADE, BELFAST, JULY 12 1992.

Lodges and their banners in the order paraded.

No 9 District

839	Duke of Manchester Invinc	KW3-Crown and Bible	O-B
739	West Belfast	KW3-Orange Hall	B-O
923	Shankill Road Heroes	KW3-Relief of Derry	O-B
944	Andersons Crimson Star	KW3-Crown and Bible	W-R
979	Mayo St Yg Faith Def	KW3-Signing Covenant	O-B
1081	McMullen Memorial	Portrait-Christ	O-B
1963	Glenavy Chosen Few	My Faith-Church	W-B
974	Whiterock Temperance	KW3-Whiterock	O-B

No 10 District

837	Pride of Ballynafeigh	C+B-D Winters Cottage	O-B
398	Apprentice Boys Temp	Relief of Derry-Church	O-B
990	Ormeau True Blues	KW3-Orange Hall	O-B
1018	Cromwells Ironsides	Portrait-At Drogheda	O-B
1542	Star of the South	At Boyne-Church	O-B
454	Stranmillis Temp Vols	KW3-Our Faith	O-B

No 1 District

1932	Ligoniel True Blues	At Boyne-George 6	O-B
373	City of Belfast	KW3-Portrait	R-B
658	Greencastle	C+B-Orange Hall	O-P
924	Duncairn Temperance	KW3-Portrait	O-B
763	Sons of Belfast	KW3-City Hall	B-O
1252	Northend Temperance	KW3-Somme	O-B
1002	Reformation Temperance	C'fergus-Latimer+Ridley	O-G
	Falls Rd Methodist Ch Def	KW3 @ Belfast-Church	P-O
2005	Sons of the Conquerer	My Faith-Portrait	O-B
1883	Belfast Harbour	Harbour-My Faith	R-B
	Armstrong Memorial Temp	KW3 @ Belfast-Portrait	O-B

No 2 District

1203	Primrose Temp	KW3-Figures	O-B
247	Royal Sovereign	KW3-Latimer+Ridley	O-B
455	Clover Hill Temp	Bible-Latimer+Ridley	R-G
867	Castleton Temp	KW3-Siege of Derry	R-O
1216	Ulster Volunteers	Church-Ship	B-O
1169	Mizpah Temp	KW3-Bible Scene	R-B
1187	Wm Bell Memorial	KW3-Ship	B-O
1338	Fernhill Temp	KW3-House	W-B
	Canon Irvine Mem Temp	KW3-Portrait	R-O
1903	St Matthews Church Def	At Torbay-Church	O-R
1869	Tyndale	Portrait-Orange Hall	B-O

No 3 District

486	Duke of Schomberg	KW3-Schomberg in Belfast	B-O
603	Angelo Davidson Memorial	C+B-Portrait	O-R
634	Albert Street Church Mem	Jesus-Church	O-B
630	Old Boyne Island Heroes	KW3-Covenant	O-B
700	Queen Victoria Mem Temp	Portrait-Siege of Derry	R-B
5	Sir R Baird Mem Temp	Portrait-Our Faith	O-B
1891	Ballysillan	KW3-C+B	P-O
1242	Glencairn	KW3-Britannia and Lion	B-O
1892	Prince Albert Temp	KW3-Portrait	P-O
1922	Prince of Orange Temp	KW3-Portrait	P-O
1871	Star of Brunswick	KW3-C+B	B-R

No 4 District

54	Olive Leaf	Noah-Carrickfergus	B-R
513	No Surrender	KW3-Relief of Derry	O-C
92	Ark of Freedom	KW3-C+B	O-R
1251	York + Shore Rd Estates	C+B-Orange Hall	O-B
717	Wm Maguire Mem Tot Abst	Portrait-Luther	B-O
903	Crystal Spring	KW3-Church	O-P
647	Earl of Erne	KW3-My Faith	O-B

No 5 District

242	Ulster Convention	KW3-Signing Covenant	P-O
410	St Thomas Temp	Jesus-Church	B-O
94	Martyrs of Grassmarket	KW3-Edinburgh Martyrs	P-O
615	Magdelene Church Defs	KW3-Church	O-B
824	Broadway Defenders	Jesus-Carrickfergus	B-R
680	Fellowship Temp	KW3-Our Faith	O-G
702	St Johns Church Malone	KW3-Church	P-O
727	Bro Wm Bridgett Mem	Portrait-Gideon	G-O
733	Edward 7 Mem Temp	KW3-Portrait	B-O
782	St Nicholas Church Temp	Church-Siege of Derry	O-B
821	St Simons Church Tot Abst	KW3-Biblical Scene	O-B
887	Broadway Temperance	KW3-Church	O-B
890	Kane Memorial	KW3-Portrait	W-B
901	Sandy Row Temperance	KW3-Orange Hall	O-B
964	Gt Northern True Blues	KW3-Locomotive	O-B
1038	Richview Church Tot Abst	George 6-Church	O-B
1026	Bridgett Mem Guiding Star	KW3-Portrait	O-B1
1050	Lord Carson Memorial	KW3-Portrait	O-B
1064	Sandy Row True Blues	KW3-Orange Arch	W-B
1079	Belgravia	KW3 Coronation-C+B	O-B
1131	Somme Memorial	Somme-Portrait	P-O
1189	Belfast Purple Star	KW3-C+B	O-P
1232	Bro N Coleman mem	C+B-Portrait	O-B
1298	Kings Loyal Defenders	KW3-Britannia	O-B
1239	Justice and Truth	KW3-C+B	O-P
1301	Loyal Sons of Cty Donegal	C+B-Donegal Castle	O-P
1302	Cty Monaghan True Blues	KW3-Church	B-O

No 6 District

265	Temp Guiding Star B'Mac	KW3-At Newtonbutler	P-O
398	App Boys Temp B'Mac	KW3-C+B	P-C
428	Star of Down Temp	C+B-Portrait	P-O
490	Bloomfield Temp	Christ Risen-Boy Jesus	O-B
525	E Belfast Orange Vols	C+B-Memorial	P-O
578	East Belfast	At Torbay-Secret Engs Grt	O-B
580	Ravenhill Rd Vols	C+B-Luther	C-O
609	Cookes Defenders	KW3-Portrait	B-C
666	Duke of York	KW3-Portrait	W-B
747	Young Mens Christ Tot Abst	KW3-Jacobs Dream	R-Cr
870	Preston	KW3-Portrait	W-O
891	Beersbridge Rd B+C Defs	C+B-Carrickfergus	O-C
1008	Sons of Down	KW3-My Faith	O-P
1053	Star of the North	KW3-B'hackaman Village	R-G
1015	Pride of B'Macarratt	KW3-Britannia	B-O
1080	Earl of Erne	KW3-Portrait	R-B
1085	Star of Ulster Temp	KW3-Orange Hall	O-C
1205	Templemore True Blues	Aughrim-C+B	O-B
1214	McMordie Memorial	Aughrim-Ulster Star	W-B
1310	Banner of the Cross	Bible-Bible Scene	O-B
1321	Thos Andrews Junior Mem	KW3-Titanic Sinking	O-G
1337	Witherow Memorial	Somme-Carrickfergus	P-O
1361	Sydenham	KW3-H+W Goliath	P-O
1365	St Pats Church Tot Abst	Church-Secret Engs Grt	O-B
1367	Fermanagh + Tyrone Utd	Colebrooke Hse-Castle	B-C
1587	Wm Duncan Memorial	KW3-Portrait	O-B
1588	Creggagh Defenders	Somme Mem-Stormont	R-Cr
1934	Johnstons Golden Star	KW3-Portrait	O-B
1574	Orangefield Temp	At Torbay-My Faith	B-O
1980	St Martins Church Defs	KW3-Church	O-C
1982	St Brendans Temp	Carrickfergus-Church	O-B

No 7 District

1960	St Pauls Church Defs	KW3-Church	R-B
1119	John E Hall Memorial	KW3-Somme	O-B
1213	Wm Kirk Memorial	C+B-Portrait	B-O
1985	Wm Rice Memorial	C+B-Portrait	O-B

No 8 District

2004	Northcote Temperance	KW3-Queen Victoria	P-C
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APPENDIX 2

ORANGE INSTITUTION BANNERS. Recorded in Belfast 1990-95.

No.	Lodge Name	Image	Cols.
5	R. Baird Memorial Temp.	Our Faith	O-B
7	Eldon (Flag)	Portrait	
7	Alexander Pedens Chosen Few	Crown + Crest	O
34	? Church Total Abs.	KW3	O-B
36	Ulster Divisional Memorial	Church	O-B
		KW3	P-O
		Somme	
54	Olive Leaf	KW3 Carrickfergus	B-R
		Noah + Dove	
92	Ark of Freedom	KW3	O-R
		Crown + Bible	
94	Martyrs of the Grassmarket	Edinburgh Martyrs	P-O
		KW3	
145	York	Coat of Arms	W-O
192	Shankhill Rd Heroes	KW3	O-B
		Relief of Derry	
241	Belfast Heroes	KW3	O-G
		Figure w. horse	
242	Ulster Convention	KW3	P-O
		Signing Covenant	
247	Royal Sovereign	KW3	O-B
		Latimer + Ridley	
250	Annabank Rising Star	KW3	O-B
265	Temp.Guiding Star	Newtownbutler	P-O
		KW3 at Belfast	
294	Maxwells Chosen Few	Eng.'s Greatness	P-O
357	Earl of Beaconsfield (Flag)	KW3	O-O
		Portrait	
369	Irish Univ. Shield of Refuge	Latimer + Ridley	O-B
		Church	
373	City of Belfast	Henry Thompson	R-B
		KW3 at Boyne	
398	Apprentice Boys Temp (B'mac)	Crown + Bible	P-C
		KW3	
410	St. Thomas Temperance	Jesus	B-O
		Church	
428	Star of Down Temperance	Crown + Bible	P-O
		Portrait	
454	Stranmillis Temp Volunteers	KW3	O-B
		Our Faith..	
455	Cloverhill Temperance	Latimer + Ridley	R-G
		Bible	
486	Duke of Schomberg	KW3	B-O
		Schomberg on horse	
490	Bloomfield Temperance	Boy Jesus	O-B
		Risen Jesus	
492	Luther	Luther	W-B
513	No Surrender	KW3	O-C
		Relief of Derry	

514	Joshua's Followers Temp.	Searching Bible	B-R
525	E Belfast Orange Volunteers	We Serve The Lord	
578	East Belfast	Crown + Bible	P-O
580	Ravenhill Rd. Volunteers	Memorial	
603	Angelo Davidson Memorial	KW3 at Torbay	O-B
609	Cookes Defenders	Secret Engs Greatness	
609	Cookes Defenders (1993)	Luther	C-O
615	Magdalene Church Defenders	Crown + Bible	
633	Old Boyne Island Heroes	Portrait	R-C
634	Albert St. Church Mem.Temp.	Crown + Bible	
647	Earl Of Erne	Henry Cooke	B-C
658	Greencastle	KW3	
666	Duke of York	H Cooke's Statue	O-P
667	Ulster Defenders Temperance	KW3 at Belfast	
673	Naval	Church	O-B
680	Fellowship Temp.	KW3	
700	Qu.Victoria Mem.Temp.	Bust of KW3	O-B
701	Bon Accord, Aberdeen	Margaret Warren	
702	St.John Church Temp.	Jesus	P-O
710	UDR	Church	
717	Rev. Maguire Mens Tot. Abst.	My Faith	O-B
727	Wm. Bridgett Memorial	KW3	
733	Edward VII Mem Temperance	Crown + Bible	O-P
739	West Belfast	Orange Hall	
742	Ulster Convention	Portrait of D. York	W-B
743	Sons of Belfast	KW3	
747	Young Mens Xian Total Abs.	Map of Ulster	W-B
763	Sons of Belfast	Battleship	W-B
782	St. Nicholas Church Temp.	KW3	
791	Star of Bethlehem Temp.	My Faith	O-G
		Relief of Derry	O-B
		Queen Victoria	
		My Faith	O-R
		KW3	
		KW3 Wounded	P-O
		Church	
		UDR Crest	Y-R/G
		Luther & Bible	B-O
		Portrait	
		Gideon's 300	G-O
		Portrait	
		KW3	B-O
		Portrait	
		KW3	B-O
		Orange Hall	
		Signing Covenant	P-R
		City Hall	O-B
		KW3	
		Jacob's Dream	R-W
		KW3	
		KW3	B-O
		City Hall	
		Church	O-B
		Siege of Derry	
		3 Wise Men	B-O

819	Deramore Purple Star	Knockbreda Church	R-W
819	Deramore Purple Star (1993)	Gideon's 300	O-G
		KW3/Crown + Bible	
821	St. Simon's Church Total Abs.	St. Simon	O-P
		KW3	
824	Broadway Defenders	Jesus Ascending	B-R
		KW3 at Carrickfergus	
837	Pride of Ballynafeigh	Portrait	O-B
		Dan Winters Cottage	
839	Dk of Manchester Invincibles	KW3	O-B
		Crown + Bible	
840	Commmercial	Margaret Wilson	O-B
		KW3	
842	Woodvale Pk Church Defenders	Bust of KW3	P-O
867	Castleton Temperance	Relief of Derry	R-O
		KW3	
870	Preston	KW3	W-O
		Portrait	
887	Broadway Temperance	KW3	O-B
890	Kane Memorial	KW3	W-B
		Portrait	
890	Kane Memorial (bannerette)	Portrait	W-B
891	Beersbridge Rd B+C Defenders	Crown + Bible	O-C
		KW3 at Carrickfergus	
901	Sandy Row Temperance	KW3	O-B
		Orange Hall	
903	Crystal Spring	KW3	O-P
		Church	
916	Mealough Old Standard	Dan Winters Cottage	B-R
		KW3	
923	Shankill Road Heroes	KW3	O-B
		Relief of Derry	
924	Duncairn Temperance	KW3	O-B
		Portrait:T.Passmore	
942	Springdale Purple Star	Portrait KW3	P-W
		Relief of Derry	
944	Anderson Crimson Star	KW3	W-R
		Crown & Bible	
964	Great Northern True Blues	Locomotive	R-B
		KW3 at Camp	
974	Whiterock Temperance	KW3	O-B
		Whirerock	
978	Ormeau App Boys Temp	Derry Cathedral	O-B
979	Young Mens Faith Defenders	Bust of KW3	O-B
		Signing Covenant	
990	Ormeau True Blues	Orange Hall	O-B
		KW3	
1002	Reformation Temperance	KW3 at C'fergus	O-G
		Latimer + Ridley	
1008	Sons of Down	My Faith	O-C
		KW3	
1015	Pride of Ballymacarrett Temp.	Britannia & Lion	B-O
		KW3	
1018	Cromwells Ironsides	C'well at Drogheda	O-B
		Cromwells Portrait	

1026 Bridgett Mem Guiding Star	KW3	O-B1
	Portrait	
1038 Richview Church Total Abs.	George VI	O-B
	Church	
1045 Sir Robert Baird Mem Temp	My Faith	O-B
1050 Lord Carson Memorial	KW3	O-B
	Carson	
1053 Star of the North	KW3	R-G
	B'hackaman Village	
1064 Sandy Row True Blues	KW3	W-B
	Sandy Row Or. Arch	
1079 Belgravia	Coronation of KW3	O-B
	Crown + Bible	
1080 Earl of Erne Mem. True Blues	Portrait & Home	C-B
	KW3	
1081 McMullen Memorial	Portrait	O-B
	Christ	
1085 Star of Ulster Temperance	KW3	O-R
	Orange Hall	
1118 John E. Hall Memorial	The Somme	O-B
	KW3 Wounded	
1131 Somme Memorial Temperance	The Somme	P-O
	Portrait	
1131 Somme Memorial Temperance (old banner)	Somme	O-P
	C+B	
1169 Mizpah Temperance (1990)	Building the Altar	R-B
	KW3	
1169 Mizpah Temperance (1994)	Building the Altar	B-O
	KW3	
1187 William Bell Memorial	Ship: Pr.Victoria	B-O
	KW3	
1189 Belfast Purple Star	Crown & Bible	R-B
	KW3	
1197 City Temperance	KW3	O-P
	Belfast City Hall	
1197 The Memorial	Angel with the Book	O-B
	At Torbay	
1203 Primrose Temperance	KW3	O-B
	Figure	
1205 Templemore True Blues	Crown + Bible	O-B
	Aughrim	
120? Bro. J. McIlvern Memorial	Portrait	B-O
1208 ? Memorial Temperance	KW3	R-O
1211 The Press	Newspaper	B-R
	Mountjoy	
1213 William Kirk Memorial	Crown + Bible	B-O
	Portrait	
1214 McMordie Memorial	Crown + Bible	W-B
	Aughrim	
1216 Ulster Volunteers	Ship: Clydevalley	B-O
	Church	
1232 Bro. N. Coleman Memorial	Portrait	O-B
	Crown + Bible	
1239 Justice and Truth	KW3	O-P
	Crown + Bible	

1242 Glencairn	Bust of KW3	B-O
1251 York + Shore Rd Estates	Britannia + Lion	
	Crown + Bible	O-B
	Orange Hall	
1252 Northend Temperance	KW3	O-B
	The Somme	
1298 Kings Loyal Defenders	KW3	O-B
	Britannia & Lion	
1299 Sandy Row Volunteers	KW3	B-O
	Latimer + Ridley	
1300 Rising Sons of India	Storming of Jhansi	P-O
	Indian Memorial	
1301 Loyal Sons of County Donegal	Donegal Castle	O-B
	Crown + Bible	
1302 Cty Monaghan True Blues	KW3	P-O
	Church	
1310 Banner of the Cross	Bible	O-B
	Biblical Scene	
1311 Lt. McKnight Mem. Temp.	Portrait/Somme	O-G
1321 Thos Andrews Jun Memorial	KW3	O-G
	Titanic Sinking	
1323 Lagan Village Temperance	Old Lagan Village	C-O
1327 Cty Cavan Defenders	KW3	O-B
1336 Rising Sons of Portadown	The Mountjoy	P-O
	Drowning Prods 1641	
1337 Whitherow Memorial	Sec Engs Greatness	C-R
1337 Witherow Memorial (1992)	Somme	P-O
	KW3 at Carrickfergus	
1338 Fernhill Temperance	KW3 seated	W-B
	House	
1339 Christian Crusaders	Good Samaritain	W-B
	Crown + Bible	
1361 Sydenham	Harland&Woolf Crane	P-O
	KW3	
1362 Crozier Memorial	Portrait	O-B
1365 St. Patricks Church Tot Abs	Sec Engs Greatness	O-B
	Church	
1367 Fermanagh + Tyrone United	Colebrooke House	B-C
	Castle	
1542 Star of the South	KW3	O-B
	Church	
1574 Orangefield Temperance	KW3 at Torbay	B-O
	My Faith..	
1587 Wm. Duncan Memorial	Portrait	O-B
	KW3	
1588 Cregagh Defenders	Somme Memorial	R-W
	Stormont	
1661 Drumreagh Purple Heroes	KW3	P-O
	Britannia + Lion	
1662 Boardmills	KW3	O-B
	Crown + Bible	
1688 Friends of Ulster	House of Commons	O-P
1865 Heart of Down	Crown + Bible	W-R
	Parish Church	
1869 Tyndale	Portrait	O-R
	Orange Hall	

1871 Star of Brunswick	KW3	B-R
	Crown + Bible	
1883 Belfast Harbour	My Faith..	R-B
	Belfast Harbour	
1891 Ballysillan	KW3	P-O
	Crown + Bible	
1892 Prince Albert Temperance	Death of Schomberg	P-O
	Prince Albert	
1893 Armstrong Memorial Temp	KW3 at Belfast	O-B
	Two Portraits	
1898 Ballysillan	Crown + Bible	P-O
1903 St.Matthew Church Defenders	KW3 at Torbay	O-R
	Church	
1921 Coote Memorial Temperance	Noah	O-B
	Two Portraits	
1922 Pr. of Orange Temperance	Figure of KW3	P-O
	Portrait	
1923 Shankhill Rd Heroes	KW3	O-B
	Relief of Derry	
1932 Ligoniel True Blues	George VI	O-B
	KW3 at Boyne	
1934 Johnstons Golden Star	KW3 Returns to Camp	B-O
	Portrait	
1953 Agnes St Presbyterian Church	Bible + Anchor	O-R
1960 St Pauls Church Defenders	KW3	R-B
	Church	
1963 Glenavy Chosen Few	My Faith	W-B
	Parish Church	
1970 Ulster Special Constabulary	B Specials	R-G
	Bill of Rights	
1974 Orangefield Temperance	KW3 at Torbay	B-O
	My Faith..	
1980 St Martins Church Defenders	KW3	O-C
	Church	
1982 St. Brendans Temperance	St. Brendans Church	O-B
	KW3 at Carrickfergus	
1983 William Bell Memorial	KW3	O-B
	Portrait	
1985 William Rice Memorial	Portrait	O-B
	Our Faith	
1990 Star of Brunswick	KW3	B-R
2004 Northcote Temperance	KW3	O-B
	David & Goliath	
2004 Northcote Temperance	Sec Engs Greatness	O-B
2004 Northcote Temperance	Queen Victoria	P-R
2005 Sons of the Conqueror	My Faith	O-B
	Mountbatten	
2006 North Belfast	Crown + Bible	O-R
? Apprentice Boys Temp	Relief of Derry	O-B
	Church	
? Falls Rd Methodist Ch Def	KW3 at Belfast	P-O
	Church	
? Canon Irvine Memorial Temp	KW3	R-O
	Portrait	

ORANGE INSTITUTION BANNERS.

Recorded at Dungannon (D-19), Lurgan (L-17), Maghera (M-20), Portadown (P-25), Rossnowlagh (R-13) and Saintfield (S-10) 1993, Ahoghill (A-8), Antrim (An-17), Ballyclare (B-9), Dunmurray (Du-4), Larne (La-14), Lisburn (Li-9) 1995.

No	Loc	Name	Subject	Col
1	D	Dyan	KW3	B-R
			Crown, Bible + Flag	
2	P	Lt.Sinclairs Rising Sons	Crown + Bible	B-O
4	D	Benburb	Dan Winters Cottage	O-B
8	P	Drumherriff Star of Erin	My Faith	O-B
9	P	Earl of Beaconsfield	Disraeli	O-B
11	S	Barnamaghery	KW3	O-C
			Mountjoy	
12	L	Bleary Crimson Star	KW3	R-B
			Flag, Map + Quote	
15	L	Girvan Memorial	KW3	O-B
			Parish Church	
16	L	Boyne Star	Brownlow House	O-P
17	L	Tamnificarbet Rising Sons	Portrait KW3	O-P
			Relief of Derry	
19	P	Ballyworkan Truth Defs	KW3 Wounded	O-B
21	P	Derryadd Loy. Sons Joshua	Conversion of Paul	O-B
22	La	Shaws Mem True Blues	KW3	O-G
			My Faith	
24	L	Britannia	KW3	B-O
26	P	Churchview, Seagoe	Spirit + Truth	P-O
37	R	Altnaveigh	KW3	O-B
			Altnaveigh Orange Hall	
44	L	Loyal Sons Of Ulster	Portrait T Taylor	O-P
45	D	Lord Carson Memorial	Portrait: Carson	O-B
47	P	Hamiltons Bawn Guid. Star	3 Wise Men	O-P
48	L	Gideon Temperance	Unity is Strength	B-O
			Moses in Bullrushes	
49	D	Derryfubble	Crossing Red Sea	O-B
55	La	Raloo True Blues	KW3	O-C
			C+B	
57	L	Drumgor Rising Star	KW3	O-B
			Latimer + Ridley	
62	L	Wickliffes Invincible	KW3	O-G
		Morning Star	David + Goliath	
63	L	Lurgan Purple Star	Crown + Bible	O-B
			Lurgan War Memorial	
69	La	Fourtowns	KW3	O-B
			Orange Hall	
70	An	Larne Royal Blue	KW3	B-R
			C+B	
80	P	Ballylisk Star of North	I am not ashamed	P-Y
			David + Goliath	
81	P	Derryhale	Spirit + Truth	O-P
91	L	Corcreaney	KW3 at Belfast	O-C
			Secret Engs Greatness	
99	P	Johnstons Royal Standard	Drowning Prods, Bann	C-O

114	P	Rockmacraney Temperance	Saul attacks David	O-B
123	L	Boconnell	Britannia	R-B
			KW3	
126	D	Sherrygroom B+C Defenders	KW3	O-P
			Secret Engs Greatness	
138	Du	Lambeg	Volunteers of 1782	O-B
			C+B	
141	Li	Lisburn Heroes Temp.	KW3	B-O
			My Faith	
142	M	Ballynenagh True Blues	No Cross, No Crown	O-B
146	Du	Castlerobin Guiding Star	Somme	O-B
			KW3	
160	D	Tamlaght True Blues	Somme	O-B
162	P	Col Verner's True Blues	Portrait Col Verner	B-R
163	D	Scott Memorial	Port: Major Scott	R-B
177	P	Caledon	Good Samaritan	P-R
			Crown, Bible + Flag	
178	D	Dungannon Volunteers	Jacobs Dream	R-B
180	D	Jacksons Volunteers	Angel with the Book	O-P
180	M	Ballindrum True Blues	Spirit + Truth	B-O
195	D	Moree Temperance	KW3 at Hillsboro	B-R
196	D	Star of Tyrone Temperance	Good Samaritan	B-R
198	D	Tanlaghtmore True Blues	Jesus in Jerusalem	O-B
207	Li	Lisburn Old Boyne	KW3 Returns to Camp	B-O
			Jesus By Lake Side	
209	M	Maghera Sons of William	Jesus Behold I Stand	B-O
216	D	Lindsayville	No Cross, No Crown	P-O
			KW3 at Hillsboro	
222	P	Lattery Purple Heroes	KW3 at Carrickfergus	O-P
222	B	Newmill Purple Invinc.	C+B	R-B
			KW3	
228	P	Derrycrew	Arise + Eat	O-B
228	M	Tamlaght O'Crilly Ulster Defenders	Latimer + Ridley	P-O
			KW3	
230	L	Abrahams Chosen Few	KW3	O-B
			Pick up thy Bed + walk	
231	A	Glebe Temperance	KW3	O-B
			Finding Moses	
236	M	Lymuck Sons of the North	Britannia + Lion	R-B
249	An	Lily of the North	KW3	R-B
			My Faith	
268	M	Megargy Pride of Ulster	Jesus Behold I Stand	B-O
278	L	Elizabethan Temperance	Map of Ulster	P-O
			Peace + Unity	
291	La	Magheramorne	KW3	O-B
			C+B	
293	D	Pomeroy True Blues	I am not Ashamed	O-B
294	D	Thornhill True Blues	Aughrim	R-B
297	P	Cavanapole Purple Star	Latimer + Ridley	B-O
306	R	Ballydunmaul	Secret Engs Great.	C-O
306	An	Ballydunmaul	KW3	P-O
			Secret Engs Great.	
308	P	Jubilee Total Abstinence	Queen Victoria	C-O
312	An	Boyd Memorial	KW3	O-B
			Portrait	

317	Li	Ballymacash	Somme	R-W
			KW3	
322	P	Edenderry Magowan Mem	No Cross, No Crown	O-P
		Temperance	Good Samaritan	
328	Li	Flowerhill	Sir Henry Wilson	O-G
			Hillhall Church	
358	S	Cumberland True Blues	Somme	R-B
			Portrait KW3	
359	M	Garvagh Young Defenders	Moses + the Law	O-P
363	R	Hilltown	KW3 at Torbay	O-B
370	B	Doagh	The Good Shepherd	R-B
			KW3	
371	P	Apprentice Boys	Baptism of Jesus	O-B
372	L	Annaloiste	KW3	O-B
388	L	Christian Vols Tot Abst	Christ Fisherman	O-B
			Samson and the Lion	
389	B	Ballyrobert	Portrait	O-C
			Elijah and Ravens	
390	P	Killylea Guiding Star	Good Samaritan	O-B
395	P	Battlehill	Port: Capt Lindsay	O-B
400	M	Bruce's True Blues	Gideon Tests Soldiers	R-B
		Bellaghy	KW3 Wounded	
401	M	Knockloughrim Rising Sons	Gideon Chooses Army	B-R
414	A	Patrick's Chosen Few	KW3	B-R
			Passover	
420	B	Ballyeaston	KW3	O-C
			Secret Engs Great.	
429	D	Bernagh	Latimer + Ridley	O-B
458	La	Ballyboley	William wounded	O-P
			C+B	
466	B	Templepatrick	KW3	R-G
			Secret Engs Great.	
479	M	Culnady Sons o Conquerors	KW3	O-C
479	P	Ballylane True Blues	Angel with the Book	P-O
480	M	Lisnamorrow Purple Star	Relief of Derry	R-B
482	M	Salterstown Loyal Sons	KW3 Wounded	O-B
483	R	Killead True Blues	Aughrim	R-B
			KW3	
484	An	Johnsons Own Temperance	KW3	O-B
			C+B	
498	Du	Falls	KW3	R-B
			Somme	
502	La	Straid	Carrickfergus	O-Gr
			William Wounded	
504	A	Gloonan	KW3	O-B
			Moses + Promised Land	
511	D	Hearts of Oak	David + Jonathan	O-B
			KW3	
517	An	Donald's Purple Heroes	Portrait	O-R
			Latimer + Ridley	
520	La	Kilwaughter	KW3	O-B
			C+B	
531	A	Moyasset True Blues	KW3	B-R
			David + Goliath	
537	An	Ballycraigy Temp Tr Blues	KW3	R-G
			Secret Engs Great.	

544	An	Grange Corner Tr. Blues	KW3	B-R
			David + Goliath	
546	An	Dungonnell	KW3	O-B
			Daniel in Lions Den	
550	S	Prices True Blues Temp	KW3 at Hillsboro	O-B
			Siege of Derry	
553	An	Bennetts Chosen Few	My Faith	R-B
			Two Portraits	
585	An	Loanends B+C Defenders	C+B	O-B
			KW3	
596	An	Chaines Inver	KW3	O-B
			Ship leaving Larne	
607	R	Stonepark Co. Cavan	Latimer + Ridley	O-B
			Parish church	
610	La	Ballynure	KW3	O-B
			Parish church	
632	B	Tildarg True Blues	KW3	O-B
			Portrait	
648	M	Grove Purple Sprigs	KW3	P-O
653	A	Ahoghill	KW3	O-R
			Good Samaritan	
668	B	Ballyclare Purple Star	Portrait	O-B
			KW3	
681	M	Blackhill	Gideon Chooses Army	O-P
692	La	Cairncastle	KW3/C+B	B-Y
			Moses-Red Sea	
697	An	McCalmonts True Blues	KW3	O-P
			Angel with Book	
698	A	Killyless	KW3	O-B
			God Speaks to Moses	
701	An	Taylorstown Temperance	KW3	R-B
			Coronation of W+M	
711	M	Aughrim Rose of Derry	Aughrim	O-P
722	Li	Pond Park	KW3	O-B
			Latimer and Ridley	
754	L	Bleary Loyal Sons of William	Portrait	O-B
			Crown + Bible	
757	M	Innisrush True Blues	Somme	O-B
766	La	Larne Harbour	KW3	B-R
			Britannia	
772	A	Gracehill	KW3	B-R
			Good Samaritan	
783	S	Moneyrea Old Standard	At Carrickfergus	O-C
			Crown + Bible	
795	An	Carntall True Blues	KW3	O-B
			C+B	
806	R	Ballintra Co. Donegal	Arch + Symbols	O-B
814	P	Enagh True Blues	No Cross, No Crown	O-P
836	R	H Ferguson Memorial	Modern Lifeboat	O-B
		Donaghadee	KW3	
855	M	Curragh Rising Sons of Joshua	Defence of L'derry	O-P
			KW3	
884	La	Larne	KW3	O-B
			Somme	
917	La	Killyglen	KW3	O-B
			Aughrim	

957	B	Youngs Temp True Blues	KW3	O-G
			Britannia	
959	P	Bessbrook Purple Star	Portraits + Memorial	P-O
1046	Du	Dunmurray True Blues	KW3	O-B
			C+B	
1071	A	McNeilstown True Blues	Jesus (?)	P-O
1107	B	Kilbride C+B Defenders	C+B	R-B
			Somme	
1115	S	Raffrey Faith Defenders	Bible + Church	O-B
1117	R	Manorcunningham Temp	Somme	O-B
1181	S	Ballygowan Church Defs	Prebyterian Church	R-B
1262	M	Ballymoughan Pur. Guards	Signing Covenant	B-R
1297	La	Boyne Defenders	KW3	O-C
			Relief of Derry	
1319	R	Killaghtee Temperance	Secret Engs Great.	O-B
		Donegal	KW3 Wounded at Boyne	
1363	R	Greenwell St N'Ards	Good Samaritan	O-C
1426	S	Carrickmannon	My Faith	O-B
			Mountjoy Breaking Boom	
1436	D	Mowilliam Chosen Few	KW3 Wounded	O-B
1439	R	Ballymagrorty Co.Donegal	KW3	P-O
			Britannia + Lion	
1516	S	Leggygowan	Latimer and Ridley	O-C
			KW3	
1539	R	McKinley Memorial	Crown + Bible	O-Gr
		Enniskillen	Portrait KW3	
1544	An	Kilroot True Blues	Britannia	R-B
			C+B	
1554	An	Bellevue Temprance	KW3 Returns to Camp	P-O
			C+B	
1663	S	Ballynacreeley Orange	KW3 at Boyne	O-B
		Standard	Secret Engs Greatness	
1676	S	Ballycoin	Somme	W-R
1900	R	Kircubbin Volunteers	Somme	B-W
			Sermon on the Mount	
1925	Li	Batesons's True Blues	Portrait	W-B
1941	Li	S.Antrim Orange Defenders	Death of Schomberg	O-G
			Secret Engs Great.	
1962	La	Islandmagee	C+B	R-W
			Sailing Ship	
1981	Li	Lisburn Ulster Def Vols	John McMichael	Y-B
		(Bannerette)		
1981	Li	Lisburn Ulster Def Vols	UDA Crest	B-B
		(Flag)		
1981	Li	Lisburn Ulster Def Vols	UDV (UDA) Crest	O-P
			KW3	
1991	Li	Sir Ed Carson Memorial	KW3	B-O
			Edward Carson (port)	
2028	M	Edens True Blue	Adam + Eve	O-P
	R	Newtownstewart Dist 9	KW3	O-B

ROYAL BLACK INSTITUTION BANNERS.

Recorded at Scarva, Bangor, Belfast, Derry, Killyleagh, Newtownbutler and Saintfield 1991-5.

No	Preceptory Name	Subject	Colour
1	Erins 1st Royal Blues	David at the Brook	G-B
		Warrant No 1	
17	Woodburn Ivy Leaf	Elijah Fed by Ravens	G-B
		Carrickfergus Castle	
18	1st Royals of County Down	Elijah Fed by Ravens	R-G
		Daniel in Lions Den	
19	Sir W Allen Mem Temp	Portrait	Bl-B
		My Faith...	
20	Olive Branch	Noah and the Dove	W-B
		3 Wise Men	
24	Mount Carmel	Arise + Eat	G-B
25	Allens (?) Chosen Few	Jesus	G-Bl
27	Mount Horeb	Jacobs Vision	R-B
		Joseph in Prison	
28	Salem the True Israelites	Cross + Crown	O-Bl
30	Red Star Drumcree	Portrait	R-B
		Arise + Eat	
36	Enniskillen Chosen Few	Enniskillen Castle	R-B
		Portrait - TC Nelson	
37	Knights of the Bann	Escape of the Spies	R-G
38	Bessbrook Crimson Arrow	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		David + Goliath	
53	Mount Nebo	Building Solomans Temple	G-B
		My Faith...	
54	Grip Fast the Light	My Faith....	R-B
		Arch + Symbols	
59	Red Cross	David + Goliath	R-B
		Arise + Eat	
61	St Johns Knights of Macken	Joseph made Chief Ruler	R-B
		St Johns Vision	
66	Gilford True Blues	Rahab Concealing Spies	R-B
		3 Wise Men	
68	Mount Horeb	Moses + Burning Bush	R-Bl
		David + Goliath	
71	Blackhill Golden Star	Rebuilding Jerusalem	R-B
72	Rising Sons of India	Cawnpore War Memorial	G-B
		Cross + Crown	
78	Rahabs Scarlet Knights	Rahab Concealing Spies	G-R
80	Wm Hurst Memorial Temp	My Faith....	R-B
		Noah - Heroes of Faith	
81	Cavehill Temperance	Cavehill	Y-B
85	Crieve Crimson Star	Noah + the Dove	R-B
		Moses + the Law	
89	Lily of the Valley	Ezekiels Vision	G-B
		Arch + Symbols	
90	Victory	Josephs Explains Dream	R-B
		Angel with the Book	
93	Rodens True Blues	Portrait R Turner	R-B
94	Ballantine Heroes	Moses + Burning Bush	R-B

95	Blackskull, Star of Liberty	Symbols (sewn)	R-B
97	Star of the East	3 Wise Men	R-B
		Portrait J McKay	
97	Star of the East (1993)	David Choosing stones	R-B
		Cross + Bible	
110	Church View, Seagoe	Daniel in Lions Den	R-B
		Moses + the Law	
112	Knights of St Patrick	St Pats Church, Saul	G-B
		Arch and Symbols	
113	Maiden City	Arch + Symbol	Cr-B
		Flags + Crest	
114	Pride of Ulster	Angel + Book	G-B
116	Batts Golden Star	Cross + Star	R-B
118	Ancient Sons of William	Arch + Symbol	W-B1
119	Kg Solomans Golden Knights	Soloman Dedicates Temple	R-B
		Moses in Bullrushes	
122	Killinchy Link and Chain	Daniel in Lions Den	R-B1
127	Boconnell Golden Star	Daniel in Lions Den	G-B
		Moses + the Law	
128	Ballitra Chosen Few	David Chasing Lion	R-B
131	Mount Carmel	David + Goliath	R-B
		Choose Whom You will Serve	
133	Pride of Richhill	Adam + Eve	Bl-G
		Arise + Eat	
137	King Davids Morning Star	I am not ashamed..	R-B
		Moses + 10 Commandments	
141	Corcrain	3 Wise Men	R-B
143	Fawney Fort	Joseph + Bretheren	
		Noah + Dove	
151	Maddens Own Killefargue	Elijah Fed by Ravens	R-B
		Carrickfergus Castle	
154	Newtownbutler Temperance	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		Noahs Ark	
157	John Patrick	Arch + Symbols	R-B
158	Altnaveigh Royal Prince	Portrait H McCullough	R-B
158	Altnaveigh R P (1993)	Cross + Crown (sewn)	R-B
169	Bethlehems Golden Star	Joseph made chief Ruler	R-B
		Adam and Eve	
170	Mount Horeb	David + Goliath	R-B
173	Kg Solomons Royal Bl Knts	Prayer of Kg Solomon	Gr-B
		Arise + Eat	
176	Star of Lurgan	Moses + the Law	R-B
		Jephthah's Daughter	
183	Lisnaskea True Blues	Arch + Symbols	Bl-R
		Daniel in Lions Den	
186	Star of Comber	Joseph + Bretheren	R-B
189	Johnston Memorial	Abraham and Isaac	R-B
		Arise + Eat	
196	Gideons Chosen Few	Gideon Chooses His Army	G-B
		Moses + 10 Commandments	
197	Tempo Star and Garter	Arise + Eat	G-B
198	Largymore Star of North	Symbols (sewn)	G-B
199	King Davids Golden Star	Arise + Eat	G-R
		David + Goliath	
200	Williams Chosen Few	Red Cross	Y-B

204	Loughkillygreen	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		Arise + Eat	
207	Sons of Joseph	Jacobs Coat to Joseph	R-B
		Escape of the Spies	
208	Elijahs Chosen Few	Noahs Ark	R-B
209	W Stevenson Mem	Portrait	R-B
210	Red Cross	Arise + Eat	R-B1
		Cross + Crown	
215	Royal Dysart	Arch + Symbols	G-R
221	Golden Crown Temperance	Good Samaritan	G-B
221	Golden Crown Temp (1994)	Good Samaritan	R-B
		Cross + Crown	
224	Beaconsfield	Cross + Burning Bush	R-B
225	Israels Golden Lights	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		Angel with the Book	
225	Israels G Ls (1993)	David + Goliath	O-R
		Adam + Eve	
229	Primrose Temperance	Portrait	W-B1
		Return of the Dove	
230	Chosen Few	Noahs Ark (flag)	Y-G
230	Chosen Few	Cross + Crown	Y-B
232	Epworth Temperance	Cross + Crown	R-B
		Rahab + the Spies	
237	Foyle Defenders	KW3, Flags + Symbols	R-B
		Cross + Symbols	
244	Pride of the North	Moses ascending Mount	R-B
248	Johnstons Golden Star	Wm Johnston	G-B
		Arise + Eat	
258	Raphoe	David + Goliath	R-B
		Moses + Red Sea	
265	Star of Bethlehem	David at the Brook	B-R
266	Shanehill Rising Star	David + Goliath	Bl-R
		Adam + Eve	
267	Sir Knt RH Bell Memorial	Portrait	R-B
		David + Goliath	
284	Dromara Star of Erin	David + Goliath	R-G
		Daniel + Beltashar	
290	Ards Chosen Few	Solomon's Temple	G-B
299	Killygullib Gideons Ch.Few	David Kills Lion	G-B
		Call of Gideon	
307	W Johnston Memorial	W Johnston	R-B
312	Lurgan Total Abstinence	Hiram in Temple	G-B
		Adam + Eve	
314	Sons of Elijah	Elijah Fed by Ravens	R-B
315	Bocombra Star of Peace	Noah + the Dove	R-B
		3 Wise Men	
322	Albert Total Abstinence	Moses + Burning Bush	R-B
		Elijah Taken to Heaven	
323	King Davids Chosen Few	Arise + Eat	R-B
		David + Goliath	
324	Islandmagee	Arise + Eat	B-G
		Arch + Symbols	
329	Total Abstinence	Cross + Crown	W-B
330	Cty Mon. Roy. Black Knights	David the Shepherd	R-B
		Crown + Bible	

336	Greencastle	Return of the Dove	R-B
		Arch + Symbols	
348	Olive Branch	Noah + the Dove	R-B
		Arch + Symbols	
353	King Davids Morning Star	David, the Chosen One	R-G
		Arch + Symbols	
356	Ballymacreely Chosen Few	Jacobs Vision	R-B
375	Sons of Ulster	Moses + Promised Land	B-G
		Portrait	
386	Toye Star of Bethlehem	Moses + Burning Bush	G-B
		Return of the Dove	
387	Bangor	David	R-B
391	A.N.M.Math Memorial	No Image	R-B
399	Morning Star	Noah, Mount Ararat	R-B
		Abraham + Isaac	
402	Kg Solomans Rising Star	King Solomon	R-B
		Daniel's Dream	
409	James Boyle Memorial	Portrait	R-B1
		Arise + Eat	
421	True Camp of Israel	Enter Land of Promise	G-B
		Joseph sold by Brothers	
423	Downshire Golden Lights	Hillsboro Old Fort	R-B
432	Victory	Adam + Eve	R-B
		Daniel + Belshezzar	
435	Covenant of Peace	Arch + Symbols	G-B
		Daniel Interprets Dream	
439	Articlave Sons of Ulster	Ten Commandments	R-B
450	Burning Bush	Moses + Burning Bush	G-B
		Rahab Concealing Spies	
451	South Belfast Temperance	Adam + Eve	R-B1
		3 Wise Men	
456	Belfast Temperance	Cross + Crown	O-B1
464	Meredith Memorial	Tullymacann Orange Hall	R-B
		Bro Meredith	
468	Star of Bethlehem (flag)	Cross + Crown	W-B1
473	Gordon + Nixon Mem Temp	Two Portraits	G-B
		James Craig Quotation	
482	Dundonald	Dundonald Moat	G-B
		Return of the Dove	
483	Cleenish Pride of Erin	Moses + Burning Bush	R-B
		Daniel in Lions Den	
487	Brookeborough Victoria	Arch + Symbols	R-B
501	Carrigans	Arch + Symbols	R-B1
		Noah + Dove	
503	Carrickblacker Guiding Star	Moses + Burning Bush	G-B
		Arch + Cross	
508	Guiding Star of Bethlehem	3 Wise Men	G-R
527	Drumreagh Volunteers	Noah + the Dove	R-B1
		Cross + Crown	
530	Star of Cloughfern	David at the Brook	B-R
		Moses + the Law	
548	Mount Nebo	Moses + the Law	R-G
		I am not ashamed...	
551	Ballymacarrett A Bs Temp	Crown + Bible	R-B
562	Sons of David	Crown + Bible	G-B

571	Willowfield Temperance	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		David + Goliath	
576	Knights of Link + Chain	Moses + Red Sea	R-B
		Writing on the Wall	
578	East Belfast	Cross and Crown	W-B
586	Kilrea Knights of the Bann	Elijah Ascending	R-B
		Moses + Burning Bush	
591	Cloverhill Temperance	King Hiram Meditating	R-G
		Angel with the Book	
591	Cloverhill Temp (1993)	Watch and Pray	R-B1
		Elijah fed by Ravens	
592	Hirams Chosen Few	King Hiram in Temple	R-B
		My Faith....	
595	Redrock Rising Star of B'em	3 Wise Men	B-G
		Gideon + his 300	
595	Redrock (1993)	Birth of Jesus	R-B
		Moses + Burning Bush	
613	Love of Sharon Temperance	Symbols	G-B
619	Chosen Few of Olive Leaf	Noahs Ark	G-B
622	Clegg Memorial	Portrait	G-B
		Arch + Symbols	
632	Cnlig Village Star	3 Wise Men	G-B
635	Col Saunderson Mem Temp	Portrait	R-B
		Moses + Burning Bush	
637	Lisnamorrow Sons of Joshua	Garden of Eden	R-B
		Escape of the Spies	
638	Knights of Crimson Arrow	Moses + Burning Bush	R-B
657	Scarlet Crown	Escape of the Spies	G-B
		My Faith...	
658	Aughnagurgan Star + Garter	Cross + Crown	R-B
		Arise + Eat	
663	St John's	St John's Vision	R-B1
		Adam + Eve	
669	Shield of Faith	Adam + Eve	R-B
684	Millisle Golden Star	Ballycopeland Windmill	B-Y
		Cross + Crown	
717	??? (flag)	Cross + Crown	Y-B1
726	Boveedy Rising Star	Noah + Dove	R-B
744	The Prince	Abraham + Isaac	R-B
		Crown + Cross	
746	Knockl'ghrim Red Cr Knights	Daniel in Lions Den	G-R
		Adam + Eve	
768	Ulster	Crest	G-B
785	Lackey Sons of Levi	Moses + Brazen Serpent	R-B
		Portrait	
801	Knights of Red Cross	Vision of St John	B1-G
		Arise + Eat	
808	Coronation Temperance	Daniel in the Lions Den	G-B
		David + Goliath	
811	Pride of Drummully	Parish Church	R-B1
		Moses + the Law	
813	Prince Albert Temperance	Portrait	W-B
823	Christian Crusaders	Abraham + Isaac	R-B
836	Camp of Israel	Report of the Spies	R-B
		Camp of Israel	
843	Agivey Knights of Ulster	Daniel Praying	R-C

845	Letterbreen Temperance	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		Arise + Eat	
855	Grosvenor Temperance	3 Wise Men	G-B
864	Westbourne Church Tot Abs	Parish Church	Y-G
		Arise + Eat	
871	Elijahs Chosen Few Tot Abs	Adam + Eve	G-B
		Elijah Ascends to Heaven	
875	Aghadowey	Solomon Anointed King	R-B
890	East Belfast Volunteers	Portrait	R-B
		Cross + Crown	
891	Drumbeg Star in the East	Escape of the Spies	Bl-B
901	St Simons Total Abstinence	Mountjoy Breaking Boom	R-B
		Crown + Bible	
903	Florencecourt Star of West	KW3, Flags, Crest	R-Bl
916	McMordie Memorial Temp	Square + Compass	W-B
978	Mount Shepherd	Adam + Eve	G-B
		David Chasing Lion	
978	Mount Shepherd (1993)	Moses + 10 Commandments	G-B
		David Chasing lion	
98?	Belfast Harbour	Burning Bush	Y-B
990	Tullymore Truth Defenders	Arise + Eat	Bl-G
992	Drumate Star of Bethlehem	Riddley and Latimer	B-R
		David Choosing Stones	
994	Knights of Golden Crown	David Choosing Stones	R-Bl
		Jacobs Dream	
997	Mullaglass Link + Chain	Noah + the Dove	G-R
		Arise + Eat	
99?	Temperance Guiding Star	Burning Bush	R-B
1000	Alfred Buller Memorial	Moses + Burning Bush	R-B
1002	Culnady Knts of Kg Solomon	Solomon Anointed King	G-R
1007	Clontibret Star of Freedom	Rebekah at the Well	G-B
		Arch + Symbols	
1009	Fernhill Temperance	Fronnd of Ferns	R-B
1010	Sinclair Seamans	S.S.Presbyterian Church	B-R
		Return of the Dove	
1012	United Sons of Ulster	Arise + Eat	R-B
		Arch + Symbols	
1013	Kinallen Temperance	David at the Brook	R-B
1016	Drumbo Round Tower	Moses + Burning Bush	G-B
1018	Maguiresbridge Golden Star	Moses + Burning Bush	G-B
		David + Goliath	
1019	???? (flag)	Arch + Symbols	W-B
1022	William Wright Memorial	Portrait	G-B
1023	Ballygowan	Moses + 10 Commmandments	G-B
		Ruth and Naomi	
1037	Waringstown	Jericho's Walls	R-B
		Moses + Burning Bush	
1039	Belgravia	Sgt W.H.Bridgett	R-B
		Belshazzars Feast	
1040	Victory	Square + Compass	Y-B
		Cross + Crown	
1068	Fortwilliam	Arise + Ea t	R-G
1069	North End Golden Star	Return of the Dove	R-Bl
1071	Rising Sons of Cavan	Arise + Eat	R-B
		Arch + Symbols	

1072	Skeogh	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		Joseph in Egypt	
1074	Hillhall Golden Star	Hillhall War Memorial	R-B
1076	Magdalene Temperance	Abraham + Isaac	Bl-R
		Return of the Dove	
1082	Willowfield Volunteers	Abraham + Isaac	G-B
		Return of the Dove	
1087	Ballylisk Star of Hope	Jacobs Vision	R-B
		My Faith Looks Up To Thee	
1104	Sir Henry Wilson Mem Temp	Crown + Bible	R-B
1107	Abrahams Chosen Few	Belshazzars Feast	R-B
1112	Knights of Crimson Arrow	Elijah Ascending	R-G
1133	Guiding Star	Arch + Symbols	R-B
		3 Wise Men	
1138	Dr Cooke Mmorial	Henry Cooke	R-B
1139	Raffrey Guiding Star	St Johns Vision	R-Br
1144	Kilmore Dove of Peace	Return of Dove	G-B
		Fiery Furnace	
1159	The Memorial	Arch + Symbols	R-B
1167	Evening Star	Noah + the Dove	G-B
		3 Wise Men	
1197	Burning Bush (flag)	Moses + Burning Bush	Y-Bl
1235	Turbrid Royal Marksmen	Joseph made Ruler	G-B
		3 Wise Men	
1236	Necarne, Irvinestown	David + Goliath	B-R
		Arch + Symbols	
1237	Knights of Golden City	Daniel in Lions Den	R-B
		3 Wise Men	
1238	Trillick Star of Bethlehem	Star of the East	G-B
		David + Goliath	

ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS BANNERS.

Recorded at Toome and Downpatrick, August 1992; Draperstown, March 1993; Derry, August 1993; Toome, March 1995; Derry, August 1995.

Division	Area	Subject	Colour
1	Derry	St Columba in boat	O-G
		Hands of friendship, Harp	
1	Derry	Assumption of Our Lady	O-G
30	Desertmartin	Sarsfield, Remember Limerick	O-G
		Maid of Erin, Faith and Fatherland	
58	Clonard	Joe Devlin	O-G
		St Patrick and snakes	
64	Drumraymond	Maid of Erin	O-G
		Irish Warrior	
72	Randalstown	Our Lady Queen of Ireland	O-G
		Pope John Paul 2	
95	Rosnashane	Mary, Hail Queen of Ireland	O-G
		St Patrick and snakes	
97	Carnan	St Patrick and Snakes	R-G
		A Christmas Mass	
139	Ardboe	St Patrick and snakes	Y-G
		A Christmas Mass	
148	Corran	St Patrick preaching	O-G
		Owen Roe at Benburb	
161	Drumholm	St Pius X	Y-G
		Rev Canon McCafferty	
175	The Loup	Oliver Plunkett	O-G
		St Patrick and snakes	
186	St Baithins	St Patrick and snakes	O-G
		Pope J-P 2	W-R
225	Craigavole	St Patrick and snakes	O-G
		Pope John 23 + Bishop of Derry	
238	Moneymore	Pope John Paul 2	R-G
		St Trea	
260	Glack	St Patrick and snakes	O-G
		Maid of Erin	
269	Hillhead	St Patrick, Ireland a nation	O-G
		Cardinal Conway	
284	Newry	Maid of Erin	O-G
		Rock Mass	
287	Ballinderry	Owen Roe, Battle of Curlew Pass	Y-G
		Maid Of Erin	
301	Maghera	Robert Emmett	R-G
		Battle of Antrim	
317	Ballinascreen	St Columcille	O-G
		Rory Og O'Moore	
327	Coatbridge	Crest of Four Provinces	O-G
		Sunrise + Hand Shake	
356	Saul	St Patrick	O-O
		Pope John Paul 2	
367	Glen Maghera	St Patrick and snakes	O-G
		The Rock Mass	
378	Mullan	Eire, Daniel O'Connell	R-G

387	Gortrighey	Death of Fr M Murphy, 1798 Sarsfield	O-G
399	Island Hill	Maid of Erin Maid of Erin Pope J-P 2 (Aer Lingus)	R-G
402	Ballerin	Uncrowned Harp (Flag)	W-G
405	Lisburn	2 Portraits, Faith and f'land St Patricks Church, Lisburn	O-G
473	Glassdrummond	St Patrick Mass in the penal days	O-G
866	Glenarm	St Patrick and snakes Rock Mass	O-G
924	Kinturk	Pope J-P 2 Ardboe Old Cross	O-G
1076	Feeny	St Patrick and Snakes Penal Mass	O-G
2071 (L)	Clonard	Mary	O-G
2117	Coatbridge	St John Ogilvie Mary	O-G
2508 (L)	Clonard	Clasped hands	O-G

IRISH NATIONAL FORESTERS BANNERS.

Recorded at Lurgan, August 1992, March 1995, Ballyholland, August 1995.

No	Area	Name	Subject	Colour
29	Belfast	St Peter	Casement	O-G
			Maid of Erin	
49	Belfast	AJ McKenna	Portrait	Y-G
			Maid of Erin	
90	Belfast	T.Sexton	Portrait	O-G
			Maid of Erin	
92	Belfast	HJ McCracken	Portrait Henry Joy	O-G
			Maid of Erin	
137	Camlough	A Blaine	Sarsfield	R-G
			Maid of Erin	
167	Omagh	Bishop Kelly	St Oliver Plunket	G-Br
			Bishop Kelly	
169	Dungannon	Volunteers	Forester giving aid	O-Cr
			Maid of Erin	
189	Cookstown		Maid of Erin	O-G
			William Orr	
240	Lurgan	Chas Russell	Maid of Erin	O-G
			Lord Russell	
350	Navan	Dean Cogan	Dean Cogan	L-P
			Forester giving aid	O-G
379	Rostrevor	Fr Mathew	Portrait	O-G
			Maid of Erin	
407	Bally-Holland	Fr Rooney	Portrait	O-G
			Maid of Erin	
425	Warren-Point	Heart/Erin	Maid of Erin	O-G
			Forester giving aid	
674	Killeavey	St Moninna	Picture of saint	O-G
			Historic Killeavey Church	
843	Forkhill	Red Hugh	Portrait	O-G
		O'Donnell	St Brigid	
1118	Hilltown	John O'Neill	Padraig Pearse	O-G
			Ruined church	
--	Newry	John Mitchel	Portrait	O-G
			Maid of Erin	
--	Irish National Foresters		Unity,Nationality,Benev.	O-G
			Maid of Erin	

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